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SPANISH ALTA CALIFORNIA

BY
ALBERTA JOHNSTON DENIS

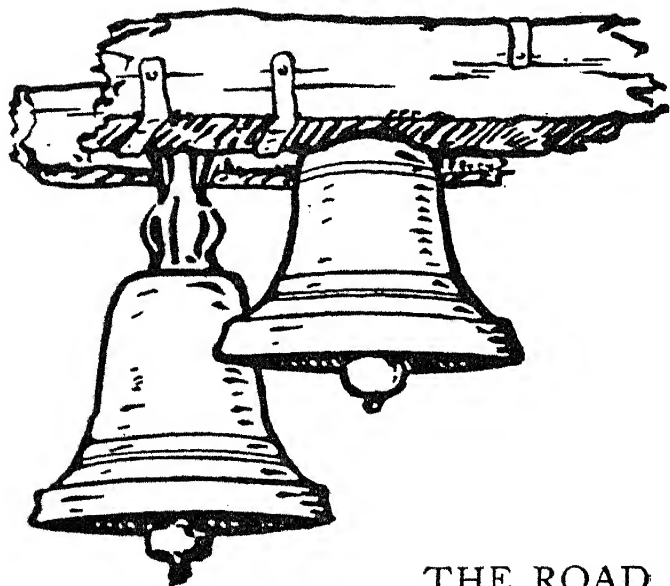
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TO
CALIFORNIA—
CARÍSIMA MIA—
COMING INTO THE UNION
A SOVEREIGN STATE,
NEVER A TERRITORY;
BRINGING, AS HER CONTRIBUTION
TO THE MIGHT AND MAJESTY
OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
HER GOLD AND SILVER, FRUITS AND FLOWERS,
HER SKIES OF HEAVENLY BLUE,
AND
HER SUNLIGHT—
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.



THE ROAD

I

Winding away,
Through the *alisal*,
Is the Royal Road—
El Camino Real;
On every mile of all its length
A story is writ.

The tale that it tells
Is of mission bells,
Of dons and *hidalgos*
Of Spain;
A story of prowess and strength,
Or of love, perhaps;
Of a Spanish song
With a soft refrain—and a strain
Like the moan of a dove.

'Tis almost the path
The *padres* trod—
Franciscan *padres* in garb of brown,
Sandaled feet, shorn of crown—
The snow-capped *sierras* looking down,
As they bore aloft
The Word of God
Like an oriflamme!

II

Winding away,
Through the *alisal*,
Is the Royal Road—
El Camino Real—
Changing each moment
Its dusky hue;
Becoming a satiny ribbon of blue,
Reflects, throws back
From its mirrorlike face
Rose, green, and purple, like filmy lace;
Flashes of turquoise in loops and whirls;
Swift glinting gold in endless swirls;
Away, and away and away—

And for every mile
Of all its length,
A story is writ!



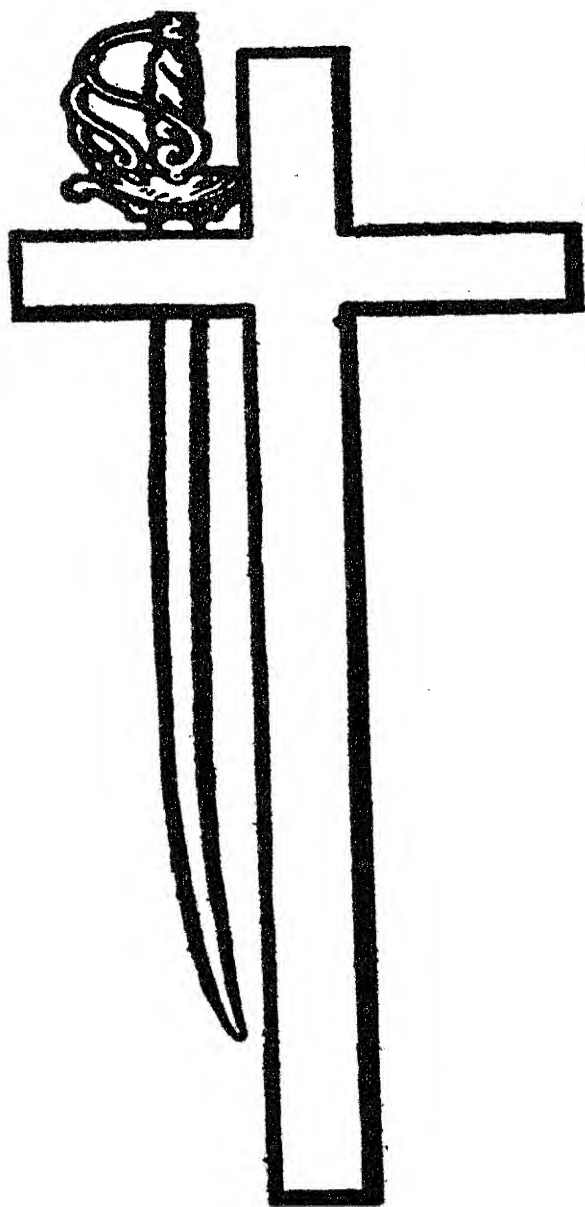
THE NAME

In the diary of the Rodríguez Cabrillo expedition for the year 1542, written by Juan Paez, the name "California" appears three times without introduction, implying recognition, with no suggestion that it is used for the first time, but quite as though well known. In the narratives published many years later, drawn by Ramusio—and, in turn, from him, by Hakluyt—directly from the journal of Francisco Preciado, who, in some capacity, was with the Ulloa expedition of 1539, thus antedating the Cabrillo expedition, the name is seen several times. But to those who have specialized, this does not carry with it the conviction that it was in the Preciado document. On the contrary, looked at with their eyes, there is evidence that it was introduced by those writers, and, of the two, with less conscience by Hakluyt, in order to bring the subject matter up to date, for the name was in common use by that time. There is no way to verify this, for, long since lost sight of, "The Spanish original of Preciado's narrative is still missing" (Putnam). Nevertheless, it is borne out by the fact that in the certified reports sent back from Cedros Island by Ulloa to Cortés, who had despatched the expedition, and again sworn to before a notary in Mexico, the name is not found. It is significant that "Hernán Cortés never used the word, nor did anyone in his service" (*ibid.*). On the other hand, in the Juan Paez diary, its right to be just where it is has never been disputed. It stands unquestioned and as though needing no explanation. Would there had been one as to why and by whom bestowed!

As it is, the name is still surrounded by an aura of mys-

tery which, perhaps, adds charm to its inherent beauty. In its characteristics utterly un-Spanish, many theories have been exhaustively set forth in chapter and monograph as to its origin. That advanced by Edward Everett Hale is the most tenable, and was accepted for many years as the solution of the problem. Chancing upon the name in an old Spanish romance, Dr. Hale based his conclusions upon that and saw no room for further doubt. The book in which the name was discovered is a sequel to *Amadís de Gaula*, of Vasco de Lobeira, written in the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, tremendously popular, translated from the Portuguese into many languages, and into Spanish by Garcí Ordoñez de Montalvo, who, to Lobeira's four volumes, added one of his own: *Las Sergas de Esplandián*—The Adventures of Esplandián—a son of Amadis. In this fantastic tale is the Amazon, Calafia, Queen of the Island of California, "at the right hand of the Indies . . . very close to the Terrestrial Paradise."

However, fame awaits that some one who extracts from an illegible, yellowed, timeworn *expediente* or *testimonio* some order, lost all these years, conferring the name upon the fair land which bears it.



SPANISH ALTA CALIFORNIA

I

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo was, so far as there is authentic record, the first white man to set foot on the land we now know as California.

This was in 1542—only fifty years after the discovery of America—and yet it was not until two hundred and twenty-seven years later that the first group of settlers arrived. There were reasons this was not brought about sooner and they were very simple. As one reads, the wonder grows, not that nothing was done toward that end up to that time, but that even as early as 1769 an attempt, if made, could have been successful.

It is assumed that the Chinese had visited the western coast of the Americas many centuries before this time. An Oriental influence is seemingly observable in the symbolism, religious rites, manners, and customs of the indigenes, and occasionally there are linguistic similarities and other indications purely Chinese. These are not such evidence of their presence as are coins and implements found in various places. How they, or other Orientals, arrived is another matter. It would not have been difficult had they come in their junks and of their own volition, aided by the great oceanic current around the northern curve below the island chain, and down the coast of the continental mainland opposite. Or, they may have been swept along and brought across, willing or not, by this same river of the ocean, the so-called "Black Stream" which leaves Japan with a speed of from seventy-five to one hundred miles a day.

With the discovery of America by Columbus, Spain

began a mighty struggle for supremacy in the New World. In 1510, the Spaniards were in Panamá, and later a movement to extend dominion northward began.

From the West Indies to Mexico came Hernán Cortés, landing in April, 1519, and founding Vera Cruz. In 1521, on August 13, when he conquered Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) a new base for Spain was gained. In 1523, Cortés was made Governor of New Spain with unlimited power, and Spanish conquest was pushed rapidly southward. In a very few years, everything from Mexico to Panamá was under the flag of Spain. To Cortés, the Americas meant a chain of islands stretching along the coast of Asia. To him, Mexico was a projection from that coast, or separated from it by the "Strait of Anián," reported discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese navigator, between 1499 and 1501, while exploring the coast of Labrador, and was supposed to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, somewhere to the north of the Americas.

Cortés had a chart in his possession, on which it was shown as running from Newfoundland on the one side to the East Indies on the other. Cortés knew that in 1520 the Portuguese navigator in the service of Spain, Fernão de Magalhães—called by the Spaniards Fernando Magallanes, and known to us as Magellan—had found an opening through the supposed chain of islands, had crossed the ocean which, for some inexplicable reason of his own, he named the Pacific, and, at the other end of the fringe of islands skirting the entire Asiatic coast, had discovered islands named by him *Las Islas San Lázaro*, but which came to be known as *Las Islas Ponientes*—The Westerly Isles—"The Islands of the Setting Sun," and renamed *The Philippines*. To Cortés, with these dazzling records to stimulate his imagination, to be the means of discovering the Strait of Anián on the Pacific side became an ever present desire. By sending out expedition after expedition of exploration and discovery, often under royal

orders and, usually, at his own expense, Cortés hoped that eventually this evasive strait would be, through him, definitely located and charted for the benefit of Spain and to his own honor and glory.

New Spain already covered an immense area, most of it still unexplored; but a vast territory still unconquered—an unknown world of possibilities—stretched away to the north, and expansion began in that direction and followed three principal lines in the first of the three regular phases of Spanish conquest: exploration and discovery. The trend was up the central plateau to New Mexico, into Texas, and northwestward to Sonora and the Californias. With this last only have we to do. The terrible problem of Indian warfare confronted all alike.

The first movement northwestward, however, was by water, made under authority from Cortés, in 1533, reaching Baja or Lower California, probably at La Paz.

In 1535, Cortés, himself, founded a settlement there, which did not long survive. That his efforts in that direction were not entirely appreciated is evident from the following: that there were those who, under their breath, "cursed 'Cortés, his island, his bay, and his discovery'" (Greenhow. Díaz).

At this time, stories of the adventures of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, repeated by one to another, were creating in the hearers a desire to go in search of the "Seven Golden Cities of Cibola," of which he had heard, lying in all their splendor somewhere in the mysterious north. These he had not seen, but it had been spread about that one of them had actually been seen, shining in the sun, larger than Mexico City and surpassingly magnificent, by a no less reliable person than the Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, who had, also, seen what he was convinced was the Strait of Anián.

In 1535, New Spain became a viceroyalty, and the first viceroy was Don Antonio de Mendoza.

In 1539, an expedition under Francisco de Ulloa was

despatched by Cortés from Acapulco, which followed the coast to the mouth of the Colorado River, descending the gulf on the opposite side, doubling Cape San Lucas, and proceeding up the west coast of Baja California to a point beyond "an island near the coast, under the 28th parallel of latitude, which they named *Isle of Cedars*" (Greenhow), thus demonstrating that what had, up to that time, been supposed to be an island was in reality a peninsula. This fact was not accepted generally for more than two hundred years.

A year later, in another direction, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado went forth, under orders from the viceroy, at the head of "two hundred picked mounted lancers, many in armor; and in the train were a thousand men of various nationalities; and all in all, over one thousand horses—a splendid force for the time" (Holder), going on as far as what is now Kansas, searching in vain for the rich province of Quivira and for the Seven Golden Cities, and finding in their stead, along their line of march, other than the deserted prehistoric so-called *Casas Grandes de los Aztecas*—Great Houses of the Aztecs—only the adobe pueblos of the Indians.

Hernando de Alarcón, planning to coöperate with Coronado, made the first direct approach by way of the Colorado River toward Alta California, but did not ascend as far as the Gila. In his trail came Melchor Díaz, left behind by Coronado, who crossed the Colorado, but at a point south of the Gila.

In 1540, Cortés had returned permanently to Spain. Supreme power was now held by the viceroy. Working in harmony with him was the Governor of Guatemala, Don Pedro de Alvarado, who had been a trusted lieutenant and companion of Cortés. He was the hero of *El Salto de Alvarado*—Alvarado's Leap—on July 1, 1520, in the gray dawn of the morning following, *La Noche Triste*—The Disastrous Night—at which time he was called by the Tlas-

calans, lost in wonder and admiration, " 'Tonatiuh—the child of the Sun!' "

Alvarado had been granted permission to undertake an independent enterprise to the north at his own expense. He had the ships, and all his preparations were far advanced, when, while making an attack upon Indians in revolt, he was crushed either by a mass of dislodged rocks or by his horse falling on him, death resulting, later, from the injuries thus sustained.

The viceroy then took over the matter, and two of Alvarado's ships, the *San Salvador* and *Vitoria*, were speedily made ready. In command of both vessels was the Portuguese navigator who had been selected by Alvarado. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. Although, to Ferrello, his *piloto mayor*, he was Juan Rodríguez, he is known to us as Cabrillo, which was probably his mother's name. In these countries, for one or another of several reasons, the family name of the mother is often used in combination with the patronymic, but rarely alone unless the bar sinister lies across the escutcheon.

It is sometimes stated that the expedition under command of Cabrillo, which set sail from the port of Navidad, June 27, 1542, known as the "Navidad expedition," sailed under orders from Cortés. At that time, Cortés had been about two years in Spain, but it was not at all impossible that, prior to departure from New Spain and contemplating an early return, he had planned such an expedition. Be that as it may, Cabrillo's instructions were very much the same as those usually given by Cortés: "He was to explore the outer shore as far toward the north as possible, and particularly to be watchful for the long looked for Strait of Anian. He was also to look for cities and rich countries" (Eldredge).

Cabrillo's two little vessels were caravels of a sort, of the type sent out by Cortés, not so good as those used by Columbus, for they were badly constructed, as were all the

vessels built at that time on the west coast of Mexico, "where the means for shipbuilding were few. As all the metal required for their construction, as well as the cordage, and such other material as nature did not provide near the hastily improvised shipyards, had to be carried across Mexico on men's shoulders, great economy was certainly practised in the use of everything but wood" (*ibid.*).

Past Cape San Lucas, and slowly up the outer coast, went the two caravels. Everything was carefully observed and painstakingly recorded; thus, in the *Relation*, or *Diary of the Voyage*, under date of September 17, "they found a good port well inclosed, and to arrive there they passed by a small island In this port they obtained water in a little pond of rain-water, and there are groves resembling silk-cotton trees, except that it is a hard wood. . . . It is a good country in appearance. There are large cabins, and the herbage like that of Spain, and the land is high and rugged. They saw herds of animals like flocks of sheep, which went together by the hundred or more, which resembled in appearance and movement Peruvian sheep, and with long wool. They have small horns of a span in length and as thick as the thumb, and the tail is broad and round and of the length of a palm" (Evans).

After taking possession in the name of Spain and naming this port *San Mateo*, the expedition proceeded on its way on Saturday, the 23d of September, keeping fairly close inshore; and, although none were seen, the presence of Indians was evidenced, as the expedition advanced, by great signal smokes seen on the land. Islands were passed, and on Thursday, the 28th, the *Diary* tells us, "a port inclosed and very good" was discovered; ". . . and after anchoring in it they went on shore, which had people, three of whom remained and all the others fled" (*ibid.*). Presents were given to those who remained, and they and others who came the next day conveyed the idea by signs that in the

interior people like the Spaniards had passed, "with beards, and clothed and armed like those of the ships, and they made signs that they carried cross-bows and swords . . . and went running in a posture as if riding on horseback" (*ibid.*). It is recorded that these Indians "manifested much fear" of the strangers; but, nevertheless, and notwithstanding this fear, it is further recorded that a party "This same day at night . . . went on shore from the ships to fish with a net, and . . . there were here some Indians, and they began to discharge arrows and wounded three men" (*ibid.*). However, they considered the natives well disposed.

The *Diary* reads: "Being in this port there passed a very great tempest, but on account of the port's being good they suffered nothing. It was a violent storm from the west-southwest and south-southwest" (*ibid.*). Mention is made that this is the first storm experienced. This port was named by Cabrillo *San Miguel*.

There has been no end of discussion as to whether this port "inclosed and very good," where, although the wind blew "from the west-southwest and south-southwest," "they suffered nothing," named by Cabrillo *San Miguel*, was that named later *San Diego* or the port of San Pedro. Some historians state positively, without "ifs and ans," that it was the one, while others are quite as positive that it was the other. Bancroft says: "I prefer to regard San Miguel as San Diego." To one familiar with both harbors, who follows the *Diary* carefully, Cabrillo's *San Miguel* is, indeed, the harbor of San Diego and no other.

To rely on latitudes as given is impossible; the reckoning was always out, and in stormy weather still farther "out." This does not argue any lack of skill in the navigator, for, at that time, the "instruments by which they fixed their course, or made their reckonings at sea were of the most primitive kind. They knew the use of the compass, could find their latitude approximately, but their

longitude they had no means of computing. For finding their latitude they had a wooden cross-staff, or a metal astrolabe, the one about as difficult to handle and as unreliable as the other. The use of either required the observer to look in two directions at the same time" (Eldredge).

Leaving San Miguel on Tuesday, October 3, passing "many valleys," and seeing "many large smokes, and, in the interior, sierras," at daybreak on October 7 they anchored off islands which Cabrillo named *Vitoria* and *San Salvador*.

Although at first the women were frightened and ran away, the Spaniards managed to convey assurances of friendliness. Amicable relations were soon established, the natives signaling to come ashore. Not waiting for the invitation to be accepted, bows and arrows were laid aside and eight or ten Island Indians put off in a large canoe, and came alongside. They were given beads and trinkets, and departed well pleased. "The Spaniards afterwards went ashore and were very secure, they and the Indian women and all" (Evans). Again came the story of men like themselves, journeying on the mainland.

The carefully recorded details in the *Relation* of Cabrillo's voyage up the coast, over the uncharted waters of the "South Sea," are full of little matters of interest, almost too many from which to choose, and too prolix for this busy age.

On Sunday, the 8th, a bay was seen and behind it "many smokes." Of course, it became *La Bahía de los Fumos*—The Bay of the Smokes. Farther north, a village was seen where the houses were "large in the manner of those of New Spain"; and where there "came to the ships many very good canoes which held in each one twelve or thirteen Indians, and they gave them notice of Christians who were journeying" not seven days away—echoes of the tramp of Coronado's army, wafted over desert and mountain, heard

on the shore of the great ocean. "With these Indians they sent a letter at a venture to the Christians."

They named the village *El Pueblo de las Canoas*—the Town of the Canoes; and, of the inhabitants, the *Diary* says: "They go covered with some skins of animals; they are fishers and eat the fish raw . . ." (*ibid.*).

All the way up the coast, canoes were constantly coming about the ships. Village after village was passed, the names of twenty-five being given them by the Indians, who said there were many more inland. The country seemed to be thickly populated. Some of the natives were described, who wore interwoven with their hair, which was very long, many strings to which were attached various dangling ornaments "of flint and wood and bone."

Near a point jutting out into the sea like a galley, which they called *El Cabo de Galera*, they encountered a fresh wind, necessitating a run for the open sea. In this way they discovered that there were two islands which had seemed to be one; and these Cabrillo named *Las Islas San Lucas*, calling the farthest to windward, which had a very good port, *La Posesión*; and there they remained, held by the storm for a week.

Under a later date, the record reads: "The Indians of these islands are very poor. They are fishermen; they eat nothing but fish; they sleep on the ground; all their business and employment is to fish. In each house they say there are fifty souls. They live very swinishly; they go naked" (*ibid.*).

Venturing forth from this refuge, they were beaten about by wild storms and unable to anchor. They sought shelter under *El Cabo de Galera*, and, finally, farther down the coast at *Las Sardinias*—where on their northward trip quantities of sardines had been brought to the ships by the Indians—they were able to take on wood and water.

In this vicinity were many villages, ruled over by an aged

woman who visited the *capitana* and slept two nights on board, as did also a number of other Indians.

Leaving Las Sardinias on November 6, they proceeded very slowly because of light winds and did not make El Cabo de Galera until the 10th, but, doubling the cape, they sailed with a good wind on the following day in front of a chain of high mountains, naming them *Las Sierras de San Martín*.

A bold and precipitous shore, against which beat a heavy surf, offered little hope of a haven in case of need; and that night a gale with rain struck them, which developed on the next day into a veritable tempest. The caravels became separated, those in each believing the other lost; but, on the 15th, they came together again. The little consort, *Vitoria*, was without a deck, and great misery was endured.

Storms continued. Seeking shelter and finding none, they ran down the coast to Cabrillo's *Isla de la Posesión*, which they reached on the 23d. There they wintered; and there Cabrillo passed away.

The record reads: "While wintering in this *Isla de Posesion*, on the 3d day of January, 1543, departed from this present life Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, captain of the said ships, from a fall which he had on the same island at the former time when they were there, by which he broke an arm near the shoulder. . . . he charged them much at the time of his death that they should not give up the discovery, as far as possible, of all that coast" (*ibid.*).

They renamed the island *Juan Rodríguez*, in memory of their dead commander; and there they buried him.

The Levantine *piloto mayor* of the expedition, Bartolomé Ferrelo, assumed command, and on January 19, after almost two months in port at this island, they set sail for the mainland to search for food and to get wood, but shifting winds forced them to sail around the islands, seeking

shelter to leeward of first one and then another, until on the 27th they were able to reënter the little harbor they had left eight days before.

On the 29th, they again sailed away from Isla Juan Rodríguez to recover some anchors left at Isla San Lucas. They recovered the anchors and took on water, but were held storm-bound by snow and wind until February 12, when they again ventured to head for the mainland, which they reached but where they dared not remain because of high seas. Taking on water and one boatload of wood, they returned to the islands.

To attempt further to follow their course, as set down, is bewildering, resolving itself simply into a heart-rending story of men, most of them ill, wet to the skin, cold, almost starving—on a voyage of terrifying adventure—striving against such odds to manage their cockleshell craft—blown here, blown there, beating about or scudding before a gale!

On February 28, latitude was taken in 43° , but according to Professor Davidson, they were "probably in latitude $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, allowing a correction of one and a half degrees." Historians seem to agree that the Navidad expedition went little if any farther than 42° .

"They ran this night [of February 28] . . . with great difficulty, and . . . in the morning, the wind shifted to the southwest with great fury, the seas coming from many directions, causing them great fatigue and breaking over the ships; and as they had no decks, if God had not succored them they could not have escaped. Not being able to lay-to, they were forced to scud northeast toward the land; and now, thinking themselves lost, they commended themselves to Our Lady of Guadalupe and made their vows. Thus they ran . . . with great fear and travail, . . . with foresails lowered all night and until sunset the next day; and as there was a high sea from the south it broke every time over the prow and swept over them as

over a rock. The wind shifted . . . with great fury, forcing them to scud to the southeast and east-southeast until Saturday the 3d of March, with a sea so high that they became crazed, and if God . . . had not miraculously saved them they could not have escaped. On Saturday at midday the wind calmed down . . . for which they gave heartfelt thanks to our Lord. With respect to food they also suffered hardship, because they had nothing but damaged biscuit" (Bolton).

On March 5, they were back again off Isla de Juan Rodríguez, and did not again turn their prows northward. Because of the storm, they were unable to enter the little port, and the vessels then became separated and did not meet again until the *Vitoria*, on the way south, found the *San Salvador* waiting at Cedros Island.

On April 14, the two worn little vessels arrived at Navidad, from which port they had sailed in June of the previous year under Cabrillo, and, thus, the first voyage of exploration and discovery along the northwest coast of the Californias came to an end.

But, far away, on fog-swept, wind-swept, sand-swept San Miguel, lashed by the sea, a mariner gone to his rest, he slept, Juan Rodríguez, whom we know as "Cabrillo."

II

Reports brought back by the Navidad expedition did not furnish sufficient reason to Spanish officials for further exploration at that time.

On the northwest coast, nothing had appeared which seemed to indicate any menace to Spanish possessions—the one thing necessary to spur them to immediate action. Not even the face of a white man had been seen, and none heard of, other than rumors of Spaniards journeying far away in the interior. The Strait of Anián had not been discovered; nor were there cities, rich or otherwise, but only Indian villages inhabited by a large and entirely uncivilized population of an extremely low order of intelligence.

There was no expedition sent out in that direction from New Spain for sixty years. During that time, interest in the Philippine trade ran high in the Western World, and, later, as things turned out, the Philippine trade had a very great deal to do with the settlement of Alta California. Galleons left the port of Acapulco in February or March, returning in December or January. In the voyage out from Mexico came “men, arms, unscrupulousness, chicanery and administrative ability; returning they brought spices, silks, oriental treasures, jewels and gems” (Hittell). These cargoes, worth sometimes several million *pesos*, were not made up of merchandise from the Philippines; but those islands became a rendezvous for Chinese junks, and Oriental craft of all sorts, bringing the products of their countries.

As to the northwest coast of the Californias, our next source of information is an Englishman—Francis Drake.

Even he did not appear on the west coast of the Americas for thirty-six years.

Logically, at about this point, a few years ago there would have followed a reference to the nonexistence of a log of Drake's voyage. At this date, that could scarcely pass unchallenged, for, in her book published by the Hakluyt Society of London, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall has, indeed, shed "*New Light on Drake.*" The title is very appropriate. In the introduction, she tells of finding a book in Mexico which turned her attention away from archeology to historic research, eventually sending her on a pilgrimage to Europe to delve in the archives of Spain.

Of the great moment in Seville, when more than she had dared hoped to find was in her hand, she writes: "It was by studying the catalogues of the Archives that I learnt that a narrative, written by Nuño da Silva, was contained in a bundle of documents relating to the Strait of Magellan. As the title and date recorded in the catalogue were however incorrect, it was only after a study of the Portuguese pilot's baffling entries that I fully realised that I had before me the only log-book extant of Drake's famous voyage which had lain in obscurity for 333 years." She adds: "Valuable as the fresh material is, it cannot, of course, ever compensate for the irreparable loss of Drake's diary of the voyage which, according to Mendoza, he presented to his sovereign on his return.

"That Drake kept a book in which he entered his navigation and painted representations of the strange new species of 'birds, trees and sea-lions' he had met with, is now proven. From Nuño da Silva we learn how much time and labour he expended upon it and how when he and his young cousin 'shut themselves up in his cabin, they were always painting.' "

When Drake outfitted his five vessels for privateering, there is little doubt that it was under royal license, and with the help of the great and godly. Her Majesty, Queen

Elizabeth, was deeply and intimately interested in the "*plott*" (plan) and had, secretly, personally contributed one thousand crowns to the venture. She wished to be revenged on "*the Kynge of Spayne*," and to hit where it hurt, and, when told by Drake of the "*smale good that was to be done in Spayne*," listened eagerly when he told her that "*thonly waye was to anoy hym by his Indydes*" (Cooke).

He was magnificently installed in the *Pelican*, the queen herself contributing "dainties and perfumed waters to the provisions of Drake's ship" (Nuttall). "' . . . neither did he omit to make provision also for ornament or delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musitians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging even to the Cooke-room being of pure silver) and divers shewes of all sorts of curious workmanship, *whereby the civilitie and magnificense of his native countrie might, amongst the nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired*'" (Nuttall. Vaux). Both the magnificent silver service and the ship's cannon, all embossed with arms "emblematic of the voyage," were gifts from his sovereign.

"The familiar statement that 'before his departure her Majesty had committed her sword [to him] to use for his safety, with this word: "We doe account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us"' (Vaux, p. 65), is greatly substantiated by the fact that a gold-embroidered 'sea capp' and scarf (still preserved as heirlooms in the Drake family) were actually given to him on that occasion by his sovereign" (Nuttall).

It is said, however, that upon his return, she hesitated for some time about publicly recognizing what he had done. She had tried to keep her participation in the enterprise from Burleigh, as well as a knowledge of her connivance with *el corsario* (Drake) in his exploits along the American coasts of His Majesty's dominion, from the King of Spain; but both had been thoroughly informed. Ultimately, she

knighted him and he became "Sir Francis," and a very great man in more ways than one.

It is a long story—that of Sir Francis Drake—and, from the beginning, thrilling; but neither the beginning nor the end is subject matter for a short history of Spanish Alta California.

Drake had entered the Pacific by way of the Strait of Magellan; and, his ship having been driven far to the southward, discovered that the extremity of South America was an island, and that, there, the two oceans met.

Just how far north or south he went cannot, with accuracy, be determined, but Lope de Vega may be excused for having credited him with sighting the North and South poles, owing to the irresistible temptation of rhyming "*navios solos*" with "*dos polos*," and because of poet's license, always accorded.

By this time, the *Pelican*, his own ship, was alone. Her name had been changed. She was now the *Golden Hind*, and on mischief bent. He was supposed to have arrived through the Strait of Anián, but he had not, for it had not been discovered by him or any one else. "While in the Port of Guatulco, he produced a map and pointed out a strait situated in 66 deg. north, saying "*that he had to go there and that if he did not find an opening he would have to go back by China*" ' ' ' (Nuttall. Da Silva).

When he set out on this voyage, on which he eventually circumnavigated the globe, to search for the Strait of Anián for one thing, all his motives were not so pure as that one, for he intended, before taking a short cut for home through that northwest passage, to relieve the heavily laden Spanish galleons, wherever found, of as much of their treasure as possible.

While England and Spain were not actually at war at that time, they were soon after, and Spaniards were looked upon as enemies of England and legitimate prey. Says

Stillman: “. . . he was not on a voyage of discovery; his was a business enterprise . . .” The first prize taken, after entering the Pacific, carried “wines of Chili . . . fine gold . . . and a great golden cross beset with emeralds” (Hittell). Everything that came in his way seems to have been appropriated: from eight bars of silver taken from a Spaniard lying asleep to a caravan of llamas with their burden of one hundred pounds of silver each; and, at Arica, more silver—some forty bars, described as “‘of the bigness and fashion of a brickbatte.’” From one ship alone, the *Çacafuego*, he took “besides fruit, sugar, meal and other provisions, eighty pounds weight of gold, thirteen chests of silver coin, . . . and a quantity of jewels, plate and precious stones, the whole valued at three hundred and sixty thousand pesos, equivalent to our dollars” (*ibid.*). .

In this wise, he filled his ship with spoil, and the principal reason for his so-called “voyage of discovery” being already accomplished, he determined to render a great service to England and definitely to locate the Strait of Aníán—that northwest passage “discovered” so many years before by Gaspar Cortereal—and through it to make a quick run for home, which would be a brilliant climax to a voyage successful beyond imagining in other and more material ways.

On an island off the coast of Nicaragua, the *Golden Hind* was overhauled and repaired. He then stood out to sea and, changing his course to the north, kept well away from the land. After a run of two months, his heavily laden ship was leaking badly; they were beating against head winds, and the weather was very cold, so he abandoned his search and turned, at about 43°, making for the land, where he anchored in what is described as “a bad bay.” From there he headed down the coast, and on June 17, 1579, in latitude 38°, 30′, 38″, found what is written of as a “conuenient and fit harborough” for putting his ship in good condition.

Nuño da Silva was left at Guatulco by Drake and, there-

fore, no further information is available from that source. There are several accounts upon which to draw, built for the most part on notes made by that worthy, Fletcher, the chaplain. Many of his statements have to be disregarded as unbelievable. In cold print, it has come down the years that, after a falling out between the two, Drake excommunicated him "out of y^e Church of God," denouncing him "to the divell and all his angells" and compelling him to wear a band about his arm upon which was inscribed "Frances Fletcher, y^e falsest knave y^t liveth" (Vaux). This connotes, or at least the impression is conveyed, that reliability was not his predominant characteristic. But, while Bancroft urges that "few have been sufficiently impressed with the fundamental truth that Fletcher was a liar," he says elsewhere that accounts based upon compilations from his notes "are sufficiently accurate to leave no room for reasonable doubt that Drake really anchored on the coast in the region indicated."

The day after the arrival of the *Golden Hind* in this harbor, Indians appeared in great numbers; one even paddled out in a canoe to within hail, then rose and made a long speech accompanied by many gesticulations, after which he paddled back to shore. This was repeated several times, and seemed to the English a form of welcome.

At this place, Drake remained for more than a month, and during that time, according to the accounts which have come down to us, had some remarkable interviews with the aborigines. Tents for the men were erected on shore and, for protection, a sort of barricade of stones was built, and the precious cargo unloaded; and one account says "that Drake's men 'grounded his ship to trim her'" (Bancroft).

Evidently, news of the arrival of the *Golden Hind* had spread, for, after the English were established on land, the number of Indians who came about the camp increased daily. They were permitted within the barricade and were

tremendously interested in all that was going on. They feasted to their fill on the seal blubber given them, as their own weapons were useful only in killing small game. One day they came in a long and formal procession, men, women, and children, decked out in feathers and in gala array generally, each woman the bearer of a woven basket filled with herbs and other gifts. They appeared to offer sovereignty over the land to Drake, who, nothing loath, took possession in the name of the queen, and for the benefit of the English nation, naming it *New Albion* in honor of the mother country, and also because of the white cliffs thereabouts.

The natives seemed to regard the English as supernatural beings, and to wish to do them reverence. In order to disabuse their minds and to indicate, if possible, that white men themselves worshiped a divine being, a god, Drake had a service solemnized according to the Church of England. This seemed to impress the Indians. It was evident that the music made some special appeal and that they really enjoyed the singing of the psalms. This is the first record of a Christian service in Alta California.

The ship having been entirely repaired, the precious cargo re-stowed, and having no fear of treachery on the part of the Indians, in order "to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country," Drake visited the interior. In *The World Encompassed*, we read "The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitfull soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man: infinite was the company of very large and fat Deere which there we sawe by thousands, as we supposed, in a heard; besides a multitude of a strange kind of Conies, by farre exceeding them in number: their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want

or moale; vnder his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe, when he lists not to trauaile from his burrough; the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnnes, for their kings holidiaies coate was made of them."

Where, or how far, they went cannot be determined, but there is no word in regard to the great harbor so near them, yet, from that side—with rough country, dense forests, and not to be despised mountains between—quite far enough away not to have been easily discovered. To Tuthill, this failure to mention it is no indication that the *Golden Hind* had not cast anchor within it, for, he says, "they were not hunting harbors, but fortunes in compact form. Harbors . . . were of small account to the roving Englishman."

It seems to be now generally conceded, nevertheless, that the "conuenient and fit harborough," where the *Golden Hind* was repaired and made ready for the homeward voyage, was the bay lying under Point Reyes, which was afterward, in 1595, named by Cermenho *La Bahía de San Francisco*, now known as *Drake's Bay*. This San Francisco bay was never confused by the Spaniards with the magnificent sheet of water which many years later was named *The Bay of San Francisco*.

All preparations for departure having been made, a large post was set up, bearing as a record of their presence a brass plate, upon which had been engraved the name of England's queen; that the natives acknowledge submission; and, below this, Drake's name. An English sixpence was also firmly attached, in such a way that Her Majesty's likeness and name were displayed.

Then followed ceremonies of a religious character and psalms were sung; and, afterward, there was a formal leave-taking. The Indians were, apparently, greatly distressed, watching the ship's progress from the hilltops and

later lighting signal fires that those on board might know they were still there.

The next morning they anchored off the Farallones, to kill birds and seals. Drake then turned away from the coast, set his course, and headed the *Golden Hind* directly for the Spice Islands.

Here his connection with the history of California ceases, and we can go no farther with him.

III

The first expedition sent out from New Spain for exploration and discovery on the northwest coast of the Californias, after that under Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, sailed from Acapulco, commanded by Sebastián Vizcaíno and despatched by the viceroy, Gaspar de Zúñiga, Conde de Monte Rey, under orders from Philip III of Spain.

But, between the expedition under Cabrillo, the Navidad expedition, and that under Vizcaíno in 1602, two other navigators were instructed to investigate the possibilities existing on that coast for a harbor of refuge for the Manila galleons, and to seek for the western entrance to the Strait of Aníán; both, however, came from the other direction, the Philippines.

The first was Francisco de Gali, who came in 1584, some five years after the sojourn of the Englishman, Francis Drake, on the coast of Alta California. He had been specially instructed to endeavor to find a more favorable route for the galleons; and with this in mind, he intended to skirt the entire coast all the way round, from the Indies to Mexico. But, after leaving Japan, sailing "east by east and by north," his vessel was swept along for some seven hundred leagues by the Japan Current, which he—or a translator—describes as "a very hollow water," to within about two hundred leagues of the American coast.

Accounts of this voyage furnish little real information. In the Bancroft translation, we read: "Then, 'being by the same course upon the coast of New Spain, under 37°, 30', we passed by a very high and fair land with many trees, wholly without snow, and four leagues from the land you find thereabout many drifts of roots, leaves of trees, reeds,

and other leaves like fig-leaves, the like whereof we found in great abundance in the country of Japan, which they eat; and some of those that we found, I caused to be sodden with flesh, and being sodden, they eat like coleworts; there likewise we found great store of seals; whereby it is to be presumed and certainly to be believed, that there are many rivers, bays, and havens along by those coasts to the haven of Acapulco. From thence we ran south-east, south-east and by south, and south-east and by east, as we found the wind, to the point called Cabo de San Lúcas, which is the beginning of the land of California, on the north-west side, lying under 22° , being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino.' This is all that Gali's narrative contains respecting the California coast." This seems to be the first mention of Cape Mendocino by name, but Gali does so incidentally, and does not assert that the name has been conferred on the point of land by him, in honor of the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, as has been claimed for him.

Eleven years after Gali came Sebastián Meléndez Rodríguez Cermenho, also under orders to make investigations along the coast of the Californias. He, also, was in command of a Manila galleon, the *San Agustín*, sailing from that port on the 5th of July, 1595, and making his landfall above 41° on November 4. Taking soundings during the day and running out to sea at night, they passed Cape Mendocino on the 5th; and that day and night they were in the throes of a storm. Heading the *San Agustín* in shore, a bay was sighted, tucked away behind a point of land. Rodríguez made for that, and there, on the 6th, brought his vessel to anchor, naming it *La Bahía de San Francisco*. They remained there until the 8th of December, and penetrated the country for some three or four leagues. They found the Indians friendly; many deer were seen, and partridges which could scarcely have been the "conies" seen by the Drake expedition during their sojourn

at the same place, notwithstanding a suggestion to that effect coming from a very distinguished source.

While there, an open sailboat, the *San Buenaventura*, was built with which to explore small coves and bays, streams and rivers; and this turned out their salvation, for, on November the 30th, the *San Agustín* was driven on shore and wrecked. Two men met their deaths; and most of the cargo and all the provisions were lost. Seventy men had to be fed, and twice Rodríguez journeyed inland to obtain supplies from the Indians, mostly bitter acorns but which, nevertheless, kept them from starving.

Men and such things as had been saved were crowded in to the limit; and the sailboat headed southward, passing, from tip to tip, the entrance to the great harbor lying undiscovered to the east of them, passing the Farallones, and on, down the coast. On December 10, they were at Monterey, which is written of as "The Bay of San Pedro."

The Channel Indians, "The Chinamen of California" (so called, later, because they were such keen traders), drove some pretty hard bargains with the half-starved seamen, satins and silks going to them by the bolt in exchange for the miserable food substitutes they furnished in return. A steady diet of acorns, with an occasional fish, was not very invigorating. All were skin and bones, yet surveys and explorations were continued. By barter, a seal was secured from the Island Indians at Santa Catalina, and some fish were caught. To such extremities were they reduced, they were thrilled at one place over wild onions and prickly pears; and at another, their joy was pathetic when an enormous dead fish, "with two mortal wounds," was discovered wedged in between the rocks. The fish was so large that the seventy men lived on it for a week, and so precious that thirty men were left "to roast . . . and guard it" while the rest went in search of fresh water, which was discovered in a mountain stream tumbling down over

the rocks into the sea. A supply was taken on board; and, on December 22, the voyage was continued.

There was no one well enough to assist Rodríguez in his surveys, and some were at the point of death; so he directed the *San Buena Ventura* toward Navidad, arriving there on January 7, 1596, and most of the men disembarked. The *San Buena Ventura* was taken by Juan de Morgana to Acapulco, which port was reached on January 31.

Rodríguez Cermenho went to the capital and made his report, dated April 24, 1596. The matter of the wreck of the *San Agustín* and the loss of the cargo were gone into, and proceedings instituted to place the responsibility. The officers were inclined to blame one another, and the testimony was very conflicting.

But, in a letter dated April 19, the viceroy says: " 'To me there seems to be convincing proof, resting on clear inference, that some of the principal bays, where with greater reason it might be expected harbors would be found, they crossed from point to point and by night, while others they entered but a little way. For all this a strong incentive must have existed, because of the hunger and illness they say they experienced, which would cause them to hasten on their voyage. Thus, I take it, as to this exploration the intention of Your Majesty has not been carried into effect' " (Chapman).

Rodríguez Cermenho, whose own money had gone into the venture, seemingly was not given credit for having accomplished anything; yet his descriptions were clear and his reports accurate.

As to the Vizcaíno expedition of 1602-3, sources of information are not lacking; for, besides the account written by Padre Ascensión, taken from his diary kept during the voyage; the information gathered by Padre Torquemada;

the various official documents; and the letters written by Vizcaíno; there are two journals: one dealing with the *juntas*—councils—and, the other, a general diary, sometimes referred to as “the Vizcaíno *Diary*.”

On March 7, 1602, Vizcaíno left Mexico City accompanied by many of those who were to sail with him, including, says the *Diary* (Bolton), “three religious of the Discalced Order of the Lady of Carmen.” Padre Fray Antonio de la Ascensión, already mentioned, was one of these three. This branch of the Carmelite order, from the derivation of the word “discalced,” meaning without shoes, is known as the “Barefooted Carmelites.”

When Vizcaíno arrived at Acapulco, he found the vessels which were to be used by the expedition already assembled: the *San Diego*—the *capitana*, or flagship; a frigate, the *Tres Reyes*; and the *San Tomás*. Under his personal supervision, they were careened, overhauled, and equipped.

On Sunday, May 5, the fleet sailed, some two hundred persons embarking. “As patroness and protector, Our Lady of Carmen was carried.” On Trinity Sunday, June 2, they reached the islands of Mazatlán, where the vessels came to anchor,—Vizcaíno alone going ashore “in order to see if there was water, but found none.”

“Going forward on the voyage, and having passed Culiacan a matter of two leagues, the general [Vizcaíno] gave orders to cross the entrance of the Californias to the Cape of San Lucas.” Head winds, encountered, necessitated much tacking back and forth; but, on June 8, their temporary objective was reached; and, on the 11th, anchors were cast in the *Bay of San Bernabé*,—named by the expedition.

Indians gathered on the shore, awaiting the landing of the Spaniards, who, meeting their friendly demonstrations with kindness, at once established cordial relations; accepting food and other things, and bringing, in return, “tiger

and deer skins," the Indians retiring, that night, to their *rancherías*, left their visitors in full possession.

"Orders were given to make ready the net for catching fish, but it was not necessary, for God granted that there should be cast upon the beach as many sardines as all could eat, with many left over."

"It being cold, the men asked the general that the supply of clothing which was brought be distributed, which was thereupon done; and he also ordered an edict proclaimed to the effect that no one should gamble or sell them, under pain of death; likewise that no one should harm any Indian, or molest him, or take anything from him by force."

A supply of fresh water having been taken on board, on May 19, "the moon being in conjunction," they set sail. Forced back by northwest winds, they were several times obliged to seek shelter in the port they had just left; but, at last, on July 5, they were able to continue their voyage.

Ships, at that time, were not provided with water tanks of any kind. Water was carried in whatever would hold it and wherever it could be put—even in the rigging. On this expedition, as there was little good water near the coast, the search for it consuming much time, the supply was replenished with great difficulty; after sickness laid hold of the men, there was much suffering for the want of it on all three vessels; and, of this, at one place, the record reads: ". . . we steered out to sea, continuing our voyage with great thirst" At another: "Because of our great need of water, and because to go forward without finding it would be very rash and to risk our dying of thirst, the general directed Ensign Martin [Aguilar] to . . . follow the coast . . . to another inlet . . . charging him to put forth his utmost endeavors." Water was found, and men were ordered ashore who "carried pickaxes and dug wells, putting in a quarter pipe. The water that ran into it was salty, and that which overflowed it fresh, which was considered a miracle wrought by God."

In the same harbor discovered by Cabrillo, and named by him *San Miguel*, Vizcaíno brought his little fleet to anchor on November 10, renaming it *San Diego* in honor both of his flagship and of *San Diego de Alcalá*—that saint's day being November 12.

Indians came about, armed with bows and arrows, but were not hostile, neither were they timid. They reported, just as the Indians had to Cabrillo so many years before, that white men were to be found in the interior.

A hut was built on shore, "and mass was said in celebration of the feast of Señor San Diego." Exploring parties were sent out. That sent to the promontory, Point Loma, beheld, like a map before them, the beautiful harbor, and, on the other side, False Bay. This port, the *Diary* declares, "must be the best to be found in all the South Sea."

A council was held and it was decided to "scour the ships, giving them a good cleaning, which they greatly needed." All hands were put to work and when everything was in readiness on Wednesday, the 20th, after having spent ten days there, they again set sail.

After a voyage of eight days, they anchored off an island, which Vizcaíno named *Santa Catalina*. Another was sighted and named *San Clemente*. They were Cabrillo's *Vitoria* and *San Salvador*.

On *Catalina* were many Indians clad in sealskins, a fine-looking race with large dwellings and many villages. They were expert seal hunters, and had well-built canoes "very well joined and calked, each one with eight oars and with fourteen or fifteen Indians, who looked like galley-slaves. They came alongside without the least fear and came on board our ships, . . . guiding us like pilots to the anchorage. The general received them kindly and gave them some presents, especially to the boys."

Some of the officers went ashore and found much to

interest them. They were well received and were regaled with "roasted sardines and a small fruit like sweet potatoes." Both men and women were kindly, and the women very modest but not at all afraid. There was one disturbing element, for they were obliged to confess, after lauding them, that the men were great thieves: "for anything they saw unguarded they took."

The Spaniards remarked the unusually large size of the crows on the island, which were very tame and very numerous. They were treated as though sacred by the Indians, who were horrified when one was shot by a soldier.

On the island was what seems to have been a unique temple, as there are no accounts of anything similar. It was large and circular, ornamented with feathers of various colors from birds which were evidently used as sacrifices. There was a figure within, which represented some god, or, from its appearance, the Devil himself, "a demon, having two horns, no head, a dog at its feet," flanked on either side by the sun and the moon.

These Indians and those of the other Santa Bárbara Channel Islands, and also, but not so markedly, those of the mainland directly opposite, were so far superior in appearance to the other aborigines—of better physique, taller, not so dark—as to suggest a different origin, a finer race. They were more intelligent and, in many ways, more advanced. They were traders, these Islanders, and a trade had developed back and forth across the channel, especially in the edible roots called "*gicamas*," which grew in abundance on Santa Catalina.

On Sunday, December 1, the little fleet was again on its way. Vizcaíno seems not to have been informed of the expedition under Cabrillo which had preceded him, for he makes no reference either to confirm or disprove statements in Cabrillo's log; but, as he passes up the coast, renames each island, each cape, each bay—as though noted for the

first time—and carefully investigates and records everything in the ship's journal.

Besides general exploration, the expedition had several purposes in view, primarily to discover a suitable harbor of refuge on the northwestern coast of the Californias, a refitting station for the galleons after their long transpacific voyage. A careful search was also to be made for an inter-oceanic strait, no really systematic search having been made for the Strait of Anián since the claim set up by the Portuguese, Lorenzo Fernão de Maldonado, that he, in 1588, had sailed through a northwest passage—long before said to have been discovered by Gaspar Cortereal—entering the strait at the Atlantic side at latitude 60° and reaching the Pacific at latitude 75°, and, moreover, meeting a Dutch ship while en route near the western end, and finding the strait easily navigable throughout.

This expedition under Vizcaíno was called by him his "second voyage to California"; but the first expedition, which he had also commanded as captain general, did not reach Alta California.

Proceeding between islands, sighted on the 2d, and the mainland, Indians came about the ships, "rowing so swiftly that they seemed to fly." The Spaniards were amazed at the perfection of their canoes, and one is described as "so well constructed and built that since Noah's Ark a finer and lighter vessel with timbers better made has not been seen." Of the occupants, we read: "Four men rowed, with an old man in the centre [singing] . . . the others responding to him. . . . This Indian was so intelligent that he appeared to be not a barbarian but a person of great understanding." Evidently an envoy, he urgently invited the Spaniards ashore and, as an extra inducement, offered to furnish them ten wives apiece. Although this was the cause of much merriment, the fleet sailed on.

The next morning found them hemmed in between

islands, strung along one behind another, and the mainland; and with navigators anxious and puzzled.

December 4 being the *fiesta* of Santa Bárbara, Vizcaíno named the channel *La Canal de Santa Bárbara*.

Tacking back and forth, they were struck by a north-wester and high seas, and lost one another, but, later, with better weather, came together again. *Punta de la Concepción* (Cabrillo's *Cabo de Galera*) was doubled and named, and, although the land was enveloped in fog, a mountain range was seen and named *La Sierra de Santa Lucía*.

Now and again, dates differ in the different accounts and happenings do not follow in the same sequence. According to the *Diary*—just here a bit ambiguous—on the afternoon after Santa Lucía's day, the 13th (therefore, on the 14th), at sunset, latitude "37° full" was reached. A large bay was ordered explored, and, reports being favorable, it was decided to put in.

On December 16, 1602, the harbor, which was named *El Puerto de Monte Rey*—in honor of the viceroy, Don Gaspár de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monte Rey,—was entered and anchors cast.

There was fresh water near the shore and a great oak, under which an *enramada*—arbor—where mass could be celebrated, was erected. In the *Diary*, which we follow, the scrivener says: "The general, commissary, admiral, captains, ensign, and the rest of the men landed at once; and mass having been said and the day having cleared, there having been much fog, we found ourselves to be in the best port that could be desired, for besides being sheltered from all the winds, it has many pines for masts and yards, and live oaks and white oaks, and water in great quantity, all near the shore. The land is fertile, with a climate and soil like those of Castile; there is much wild game, such as harts, like young bulls, deer, buffalo, very large bears, rabbits, hares, and many other animals and many game

birds, . . . and many other kinds . . . which I will not mention lest it be wearisome."

Vizcaíno was now confronted with a difficult and deplorable state of affairs: not only were provisions running low but the situation as regards illness had become alarming. Immediately after religious service, a council was called. It was then determined that the sick were to be returned to Acapulco, and reports sent. The *San Tomás* was detailed, and on the 29th, sailed. Very great suffering was experienced and many died, among these being Fray Tomás, one of the two Carmelite friars who were on board.

After the *San Tomás* had been despatched, preparations were begun for continuing the voyage to Cape Mendocino. To quote again: "The men worked under great difficulties in taking on wood and water because of the extreme cold, which was so intense that Wednesday, New Year's Day of 1603, dawned with all the mountains covered with snow . . . and that the hole from which we were taking water was frozen over more than a palm in thickness, and the bottles, which had been left full over night, were all frozen So urgent was our situation that necessity compelled us all to act with energy, especially the general, who aided in carrying the bottles and in the other tasks, . . . so that by Friday night, the 3d of the said month, we were all ready."

While the vessels were in port, various little journeys inland had been made, and, in order to verify reports brought back, on this same day (the 3d), Vizcaíno himself led an exploring party. "He proceeded some three leagues when he discovered another good port, into which entered a copious river descending from some high, snow-covered mountains [the *Río Carmelo*, named in honor of the Carmelite friars with the expedition]" Elks were seen, whose horns measured three *varas* across and with

wool which dragged on the ground. "An effort was made to kill some of them but they did not wait long enough. No people were found because, on account of the great cold, they were living in the interior" (*ibid.*).

Says the *Diary*: "The general and all the men having reached the flagship, at nightfall we raised all but one anchor, and at midnight, aided by the land breeze, we set sail."

The *San Diego* and the *Tres Reyes* now proceeded on their way to more northern latitudes. On the 5th, according to the *Diary*, Vizcaíno—at the suggestion of Francisco de Bolaños, his chief navigator, who had held the same position on the *San Agustín*—turned the *capitana* about, and came to anchor outside Cermenho's *Bahía de San Francisco*, intending to go ashore on the following day. An offshore wind at daybreak forcing the *San Diego* to put to sea, no landing was made, and the voyage up the coast was resumed; but, because of mistaken signals, the consort, the *Tres Reyes*, could not be found. Adverse winds were encountered and little progress was made; but on January 12, the *San Diego* was in latitude $40^{\circ}, 27'$, off Cape Mendocino. Then came a furious south wind, with fog and rain; and it was "as dark in the daytime as at night." All on board were prostrated and "there were only two sailors who could climb to the maintopsail."

On the 13th, a council was held and it was agreed that, for them, there was no alternative,—to proceed would be to perish; and that the return voyage was to be begun as soon as winds and waves permitted; but the gale drifted the little vessel farther to the north. On the 17th, she was struck by two seas and seemed almost to stand on end; sick and well were thrown from their bunks; and, in the pitching and tossing, Vizcaíno, striking against a box, had his ribs broken. On the 20th, the *fiesta* of San Sebastián, they were in 42° , and on the next day, the storm

having abated, the *San Diego*, speeded by a fresh northwest wind, began the homeward voyage.

The consort, the *Tres Reyes*, after becoming separated from the flagship and beating about in the southwest gale, was at "latitude 43°," and the mouth of a great river was seen. The commander having no further instructions, and as there was much sickness on board, the *Tres Reyes* was also put about, and the run down the coast commenced. Both the captain, Martín Aguilar, and the *piloto*, Antonio Flores, died during the voyage, and of the crew only five survived to bring the vessel into port.

Afflictions without mercy were laid upon those on board the *San Diego*. Nearly the whole ship's company was disabled by illness, and at Cerros Island, where they were obliged to stop for wood and water, only one anchor, a small one that could be spared, was cast, which, should they be unable to hoist it, could, by letting go the cable, be left. Six men went ashore with Vizcaíno, but debilitated as they were and hindered, in every possible way, by the Indians, "only with the greatest efforts of all could they take on twelve quarters of water."

With great difficulty, at midnight, on February 8, they got under way. On the 13th, off Cape San Lucas, a council—the last recorded—was held, to determine: whether it would be advisable to enter the bay of San Bernabé and bring away the longboat, left there on the outward voyage, and from there to proceed to La Paz to await succor and new orders from the viceroy; or to make all possible speed "to the nearest port in New Spain." The longboat seems to have been left at San Bernabé, for it was unanimously agreed that it was inexpedient to "put in at the said bay"—as it was to proceed to La Paz—"because the men were so sick and exhausted that if anchor were cast the ship

would not be able to leave port." Therefore, "and as the sick were dying of hunger because they could not eat what was on board the ship on account of their sore mouths," Vizcaíno ordered the *San Diego* headed across the gulf straight for Mazatlán, where, according to the *Diary*, they arrived "on the 18th of the said month, in the greatest affliction and travail ever experienced by Spaniards"

The ship was brought to anchor between the islands and the mainland; and, taking with him six soldiers—all who could walk—Vizcaíno left the *San Diego* and set out through a mountainous, roadless country to get assistance at the *pueblo* of Mazatlán; but, losing his way, he journeyed thirteen leagues inland toward Culiacán; all would have perished from hunger or thirst but for the timely appearance of a pack train. The *arriero* came to their aid, giving them wine, *tortillas*, and fruit; and, furnishing them with riding animals, directed them "to the *pueblo* of Sacarita. . . ." There, the *alcalde mayor* took charge of the matter; and "hens, chickens, kids, beef, veal, bread, fruit, and vegetables" were immediately despatched to the stricken ship.

To their great surprise a small fruit found on the islands of Mazatlán, eaten freely by the men, although they made their mouths bleed profusely, so cleansed them of ulcers that, in six days, there was not a single person whose mouth was not entirely healed; and, after eighteen days on the islands, when they set sail on March 9, all were "well and were able to assist in handling the ship and at the helm."

On March 21, the *San Diego* came to anchor at Acapulco. "The men received their pay with great satisfaction and the general took them all with him to Mexico at his own expense." And from there they "went to Chapultepeque, where his Lordship [the viceroy] was, to

kiss his hands." Drawn, in part, and where quoted, from the *Diary of Vizcaíno* (Bolton).

Although forty-odd lives had been lost, orders had been faithfully carried out and the expedition highly successful. In making his report, Vizcaíno solicited the opportunity of returning to California with men, supplies, and equipment for a permanent settlement.

The viceroy was well satisfied, and honors and rewards were in store for Vizcaíno, who, although he had not always been, was now in great favor with him. For one thing, he was to be given command of the next Manila galleon, that of 1604, a position that brought with it rich returns.

Unfortunately, the Conde de Monte Rey was succeeded in that year, 1603, by the Marqués de Montesclaros,—a viceroy with different views. The result was that Vizcaíno did not receive the appointment, the order being countermanded by the new viceroy; not only this, later Montesclaros dismissed him from the service, saying that he had tried to bribe him to give him the command.

Sebastián Vizcaíno went to Spain, but, says Padre Venegas, " 'While Viscaino had a heart for striving against the tempests and calms of the sea, he had none for struggling against those which alternately agitated and lulled the elements of the court' " (Hittell).

Yet the king did issue two *cédulas*, dated August 19, 1606, providing for an expedition to Monterey, and directing the Governor of the Philippines and the Viceroy of New Spain to coöperate in the matter. Vizcaíno was to command the galleon of 1607 and on the return voyage, as a preliminary to a settlement, was to make a thorough survey of Monterey. Further, he was to return there with colonists of the best types. The expedition was to be well furnished and a substantial sum was to be forthcoming. However, Montesclaros found ways, and the

entire plan was discarded. Another that had nothing whatever to do with Monterey was substituted, and the money that had been appropriated, diverted. In consequence, Sebastián Vizcaíno was sent in search of two mythical islands: Rico de Oro and Rico de Plata, supposed—as the names indicate—to be rich in gold and silver. He was, also, an emissary to Japan. The islands, being myths, were not found, and as an envoy he was not a success. He returned to New Spain in 1613.

Indications are that no higher latitude was reached by the Vizcaíno expedition, along the northwest coast of the Californias, than 42°. Aguilar's River, sighted by the *Tres Reyes*, must have been an hallucination, although Padre Ascensión supposed it to be the entrance to the Strait of Aníán. Little was added to the information obtained by Cabrillo. El Puerto de Monte Rey, we are now told, was not really discovered by Vizcaíno, Cermenho having already done so. But the mapping of the entire coast was of the greatest importance and this had been done most carefully and well, putting the expedition in a class by itself.

The first map of the northwest coast was the work of the cartographer of this expedition, Captain Gerónimo Martín de Palacios, an expert who had been taken along expressly for that reason. He, also, was rewarded by the Conde de Monte Rey by being given a lucrative position in the Manila galleon. But he fared far worse than did Vizcaíno, for through the machinations of Montesclaros, charges were brought against him. He was tried, condemned, and hanged.

But Juan Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, Viceroy of Mexico, 1603 to 1606, is written of as "an able and successful ruler."

The Spanish government now had an excellent idea of the whole coast. No use was made of this until one hundred and sixty-six years later, except as an assistance to

the Manila galleons; but the plan for El Puerto de Monte Rey as a refitting station for them was abandoned.

Beginning in 1542 with the discovery of the harbor of San Miguel, and ending with the return of the Vizcaíno expedition in 1603, there are five sources of information available: Cabrillo, Drake, Gali, Cermenho, and Vizcaíno. Nothing was added to that furnished by these five, and just that much and no more was known of either coast or interior in the year 1769, as had been known in 1603. This period is sometimes referred to as "the hiatus in the history of California."

IV

A good outline of the coast of the Californias had been in the possession of the Spanish government since 1603, the result of the mapping done by the Vizcaíno expedition—a great advance from uncharted waters and no knowledge of the trend of the northwest coast. But facilities in equipping expeditions had not measurably improved since that time, and when the difficulties are remembered which beset the two despatched from New Spain—those under Cabrillo and Vizcaíno—and when the ravages of disease and the death toll are borne in mind, it is not a matter for astonishment that others had not been sent out.

An inland route from Mexico to Alta California seemed to be the *sine qua non* for any permanent settlement, not only for the sorely needed refitting station for the Manila galleons, but, also, for any *presidios* and missions which might have to be established and maintained in conjunction—in short, for the regular second phase of Spanish conquest, in which spiritual and military occupation followed side by side.

In 1769, a *terra incognita* still lay between the Colorado River and the northwest coast, even in the immediate vicinity of which conditions were very superficially known, the only information having come from conversations with the Indians, prior to 1603, carried on by signs and deductions drawn therefrom—always untrustworthy and often far from the truth—and from a few excursions a short distance inland.

But, while nothing at all had been done toward either an overland route or a settlement, during this interim,

innumerable memorials to the Spanish government, directly or indirectly concerning both, had been presented. They were all essentially of the same import, except as to ulterior motives—and, usually, there were ulterior motives. Ordinarily, the necessity for breaking a way overland across the Gila and Colorado rivers was the subject, and foreign menace was stressed: danger from the French on the northeast, who might, by taking advantage of the “western branch of the Colorado,” named by Vizcaíno *El Río de Carmelo*, quietly establish themselves on the northwest coast; danger from the English and their probable arrival in Pacific waters through the Strait of Anián; and from the Russians and their possible descent upon Spanish territory from across that strait. Communications from the *padres* dwelt, of course, upon the necessity for missions for the salvation of the souls of the heathen.

In Spanish conquest in the New World, missions and missionaries were a tremendous help in the reduction of the savages and were used to the utmost limit, but as a means toward another end, for the salvation of the souls of the heathen was very secondary and in this connection nothing at all *per se*; and it seems to be borne out by fact that “The kings, indeed, desired the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, and frequently declared this to be the chief aim of the conquest; nevertheless, the object for which alone expenses were incurred was political” (Engelhardt).

The necessity for the Spanish government to be on the *qui vive* against foreign encroachment grew more and more insistent, and in the New World—evidenced by the continually arriving petitions urging the government to immediate action—great apprehension was felt.

Of these communications to government and king, space permits gleanings from only one of a group of four memorials prepared by Pedro de Labaquera; and from a book, defined by Chapman as “One of the most important docu-

ments in the history of northwestward advance," based upon material collected by two of the Jesuit fathers: Sigismundo Taraval, who had been instructed to write a history of the Baja California missions (that he did so, in twelve volumes of manuscripts seen at Guadalajara, has been amply testified to), and Miguel Venegas, who, drawing upon Taraval's material and using his own, reduced it to manuscript, in which, according to Hittell, it was "set forth in a very able, eloquent and perspicuous manner." Some years later, this manuscript was taken to Spain, where it was critically examined, reworked, and new material added to it from other sources by "Father Andres Marcos Burriel; and afterwards in 1757, . . . was published . . . under the title of 'Noticia De La California y De Su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual Hasta El Tiempo Presente'" (Hittell).

In a letter to the Jesuit *procurador general de Indias*, Pedro Altamirano, Burriel asks that his name be withheld, as it was in great part the work of Venegas and he questioned the propriety of its publication under his name (and, as a matter of fact, it was published anonymously), adding: " 'Aside from that, affairs of considerable delicacy are touched upon, and it is well that I, an employe of the king [he was royal archivist at Toledo], do not appear, while we do not know how they will be received.' Many of these *cosas bastante delicadas* were stricken out in course of various official readings before publication; for example, remarks which seemed in any way to reflect upon the government for its delays or failures to execute royal decrees were expunged, to the bitter regret of Father Burriel" (Chapman). It was translated into English, Dutch, French, and German.

In the preface of the English translation, the editor argues " 'that the discovery of a northwest passage, is far less problematical there, in the opinion of those, who, from their situation, are the ablest judges, than it is here, and

that the dread of seeing the English form an establishment . . . is held by those who have the best means of knowing, to be a very probable thing. . . . that while the Spaniards have the hard task imposed on them, of settling, improving, and fortifying the very wildest, and worst parts of this country; the English, if they should ever think of making any attempt, may seat themselves in a pleasant climate, fruitful soil, and in regions well peopled, from whence they may, with certainty, command the most valuable branches of commerce that have been hitherto discovered' " (Chapman). The trend of thought in England is evident, and it is blazoned forth that Burriel's fears were far from groundless. There was, indeed, intense feeling and acute antagonism between the two countries. Spain had cause enough to dread the English, with a dread that was cumulative, being constantly confronted by England to her disadvantage.

According to Chapman: "The book is in a sense a defence of the Jesuits, and a plea for the extension of their missionary field. . . . Competition . . . had to be met, and Jesuit mission work, just then much criticised, to be defended." Burriel strongly urged that missions be established "to the farthest known coasts of the Californias, that is, to San Diego, Monterey, and Aguilar's River in 43°." And in a letter to Altamirano, he stated that his object in part of the book was "'to justify the expenses for the maintenance of California, which, wretched land that it is [*i.e.* the peninsula], are well worth while.'" The Jesuits had insisted upon civil and military domination as well as religious in Baja California. "Burriel hoped to accomplish his aims by extending Jesuit rule; it is unlikely that he contemplated any such radical departure from Jesuit policy as would have been involved in establishing presidios and settlements under secular authority."

But the Jesuits were not destined to carry the faith "to the farthest . . . coasts of the Californias . . . to San Diego, Monterey," or to any part of Alta California, for

the most important event of the eighteenth century, in Mexico, was the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, under orders from Carlos III. Except those at the far distant missions, who were taken in charge later, arrests were begun and as many made as possible on the night of June 26, the rest following quickly in their wake. All their belongings were confiscated and they themselves sent on their way to Vera Cruz, the *embarcadero*, for deportation. On that long journey, much unnecessary suffering fell to their lot and many died.

Whatever their order may have been guilty of elsewhere, the Jesuits in Mexico did valiant work among the natives and, along educational lines, much also for the whites.

"From a small beginning under Ignatius Loyola, their founder, in 1539, they had rapidly grown into an immense power . . . distributed throughout almost every region of the earth; bound by the strictest oaths, . . . recognizing no superior allegiance except to the pope, they had . . . become truly formidable. . . .

"The movement [against them] commenced in Portugal, where it was supposed that they had not only instigated rebellion in the provinces but had also been privy to a conspiracy to assassinate the king" (Hittell); finally, the government issued a royal edict "declaring the Jesuits traitors; suppressing the order throughout the Portuguese dominions, and confiscating all its property" (*ibid.*).

A little later, expulsion was brought about in France through the united efforts of their bitter enemy, the Duc de Choiseul, the prime minister, and of Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV, whose dismissal they demanded. The Jesuit order was suppressed there in 1764. Three years later, it was forcibly expelled from all the dominions of Spain.

The execution of the order in Baja California was placed in the hands of Captain of Dragoons Don Gaspar de Portolá, a Catalan of noble birth, born at Balaguer, Spain, at

that time forty-six years old, who had seen service in Portugal and Italy, and who was to remain on the Peninsula as civil and military governor.

On the enforcement of the decree against the Jesuits, missions on the Peninsula were put under the control of the Franciscan College of San Fernando at Mexico City. Fray Guardian José García named nine missionaries to undertake the work, and appointed Fray Junípero Serra, of the Sierra Gorda Mission, *padre presidente*.

Miguel José Serra was born at Petra, Island of Mallorca, November 24, 1713.

He became a novitiate of the Franciscan order at Palma, at the age of sixteen, and at that time took the name of Junípero, a disciple well loved by St. Francis.

Not only gifted and studious, but persistent, tireless, enthusiastic in his endeavors toward an end—characteristics which remained through life—he was able to accomplish where another would have failed. He was ordained before he was twenty-one, and as a professor of theology, teaching and lecturing for some three years before large classes and with great success, he had earned and been given the doctor's degree. Of attractive personality, with a rich, sonorous voice, an orator, skilled in the use of words, who had striven to perfect his technique, when he preached he rose to the apex of his powers and carried all before him. In the pulpit, he seemed inspired. It is somewhat banal to reiterate that "one of his sermons was said by a severe critic, to be worthy of being printed in letters of gold." Originally a beautiful recognition of his compelling eloquence, it has become, from sheer repetition, almost an anticlimax in writing of one possessed of the divine spark of true greatness.

During the years that followed, his fame spread and many doors of distinction stood wide open for Serra to

pass through, but nothing beckoned to him from the other side of the portals. The dream of his life's work, stretching out before him, did not mirror him to himself surrounded by the pomps and vanities of the world. He saw himself in the wilds of the New World, bringing to otherwise lost souls the life eternal. This became an obsession, part of his very soul.

Francisco Palou and Juan Crespi were friends of his youth, and the friendship endured and waxed stronger as the years went by, for the names of the three are inseparably linked in their chosen calling. With the same aims and ideals, Serra and Palou together tendered their services for any missionary enterprise that might be undertaken by their order, and strove unceasingly toward that end. But years passed ere permission came to join a party of missionaries on the eve of departure for Mexico—when Serra was nearly thirty-six years old—and even then only because five priests became frightened at the thought of the long voyage and Serra and Palou were substituted for two of those whose hearts had failed them.

Arriving at Vera Cruz after a stormy and wearisome voyage of ninety-nine days, neither vehicles nor horses were found waiting to convey the friars to Mexico City. Eager to begin the work to which he hoped to be permitted to dedicate the rest of his life—the redemption of the savages—now that the opportunity had come, after so many years of waiting, Serra did not propose to be delayed in any avoidable way; conforming, also, to the austerities of his order, one of their vows being never to ride when to walk is possible, he decided to press on to his destination at once, and to make the long journey of about one hundred Spanish leagues on foot. On this strenuous walk he injured his leg, which became infected, the affliction recurring from time to time during his whole life and being the cause of much suffering and great inconvenience; but the pain which came with it he took as a Heaven-sent discipline and for

his good, a part of his earthly cross. Except on a few rare occasions when the agony was too great for even his stoicism and when, after fasting and prayer, he reluctantly sought human aid, he put aside bodily ailments. During that long walk, he beheld visions and miracles came to pass.

Elated with hope, he reached the College of San Fernando, but his dream, which had seemed about to materialize, became a will-o'-the-wisp, as elusive and far away as when he was still in Spain, for, although he and Palou were, after a time, put in charge of the Sierra Gorda missions which became the model missions of all New Spain, it was more than seventeen years after his arrival in Mexico, and when he was in his fifty-fourth year, that he was appointed *padre presidente* of the Peninsula missions.

The little band from the College of San Fernando set out on July 14, arriving at Tepic on August 21, welcomed by the Franciscans at Jalisco, who had a *hospicio* at that place. "Finding the newly appointed governor of California, Gaspar de Portolá, with fifty men ready to sail," two of the *padres*, Palou and Gaston, at the request of Serra, set sail with him. But they were not to cross the gulf to the scenes of their future labors at that time, for "the ship was driven back to Matanchel on September 5th. Fr. Palou relates that when the tempest was at its height, and all expected to perish, Fr. Gaston cast some moss from the famous Cross of Tepic upon the raging billows, and Fr. Palou vowed to offer up a High Mass if they were saved, whereupon the storm instantly subsided. The vow was fervently fulfilled as soon as the hospice was reached, the entire crew of the ship assisting at the ceremonies" (Engelhardt).

The Franciscans detailed to take over the work in Baja California were detained on the mainland until the following spring. Governor Portolá, however, arrived at Cape San Lucas in October, and proceeded to execute his unpleasant commission.

The Jesuit order had not been anxious to undertake the work in Baja California in the first place, but, after so many years there, the God-forsaken country had become dear to some of them who had come to look upon the arid and forbidding peninsula as their own land, and their distress at their forcible ejection was acute; but the kindly courtesy of Don Gaspar de Portolá, and consideration in all things possible, did much to relieve the situation.

One of them—Father Jakob Baegert—who had at last reached his home after many trying experiences, wrote in refutation of misstatements in translations of the Venegas-Burriel *Noticia de la California* of what so filled his heart.

The story of their departure drawn by Hittell from Baegert's *Nachrichten* is, in part and in substance, as follows: The fifteen Jesuit missionaries and one lay brother gathered at Loreto, bringing with them, in accordance with instructions, complete inventories of all their possessions. "They were there received by Portolá, as was the Spanish custom of the day, with courteous embraces. On February 3, 1768, the collected fathers . . . assembled in the church and celebrated their last high mass in the country. The image of Our Lady of Loreto, the patroness of the conquest, was draped in mourning. . . . From the church, the fathers, after being again embraced and bidden adieu by the new governor, marched down to the beach . . ." and went on board the ship, the Indians wailing a farewell.

"By this time the sun had sunk; the twilight changed into dusk; the sails were run up in the dark; they filled and swelled with the winds of the night; and before morning . . . they were far distant on their way. They had left California forever."

Meanwhile, the Franciscans, now sixteen in number, waiting to take up the work laid down by the expelled Jesuits, had occupied themselves conducting missions in the vicinity

of Tepic. When at last they were permitted to set sail, on March 14, 1768, from San Blas, it was by the same boat, the *Concepción*, which had brought over the unhappy Jesuit fathers. They reached Loreto, the principal mission, on April 1, where they gave thanks for their safe arrival in the church of *Nuestra Señora de Loreto*—Our Lady of Loreto—the patroness of the Peninsula.

The Franciscan order, authorized by the pope in 1210 and formally ratified in 1223, was founded by Giovanni Francesco Bernardone,—St. Francis, “The Seraphic Saint,”—born in Assisi, Italy, in 1182, and canonized in 1228, two years after his death, by Pope Gregory IV.

The order flourished and established itself in many places. Shortly after the discovery of America, missionary work among the aborigines was begun by Franciscans. Fray Juan Pérez de Marchena accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and landing on the island of Hispaniola, celebrated mass in a little chapel built of boughs—the first Christian service in the New World—on December 8, 1493.

On this island of Hispaniola—or, as he named it, *Española*,—Columbus, himself a member of the Third Order of St. Francis, had a monastery of stone erected for Franciscan friars, of which Fray Juan Pérez was the first guardian.

A group of friars arriving in 1502 “brought along the first church bells” (Engelhardt); and Franciscans were the first missionaries on the mainland as they had been on the islands.

The Franciscan order was the first of the so-called “mendicant orders” that came into being in Europe in the middle ages as a result of certain integral conditions of feudalism and a direct reaction against them. The whole social system revolved around the great landlords—away

from the towns—and, as bishops and abbots were themselves feudal barons, the city populations were left, practically without spiritual guidance, in a state of religious deprivation and moral poverty. The Franciscans, the first to hear this call and answer it, laid special stress not only upon spreading the faith, but upon ministering to the body as well as to the soul. Thus, when they came to the cities, going among the people, adapting themselves to the ways of those about them, caring for the sick and needy, reclaiming the outcast, and bringing with them at the same time a religion full of the mysticism of the humanity of Christ—living His life, so far as in them lay—they met a crying need.

Their vows compelled the utmost poverty and the fewest possible belongings. No ownership in land or funded property was permitted, nor any fixed incomes. As time went on, more and more were they obliged to give themselves to their ministrations and less and less were they able to support themselves. Furthermore, to their detriment, other mendicant orders—the original cause forgotten and the primary object lost sight of—sprang up so rapidly and became so numerous—to their own hindrance and embarrassment, also—that begging began to play a greater part than had ever been contemplated by St. Francis, until the enthusiasm for founding them was checked by a papal decree.

Franciscan ideals became increasingly difficult to maintain, and, eventually, the order split into two divisions: the Observants, who adhere strictly to the rules originally formulated, in all their severity, and the Conventuals, who follow a less rigorous régime; the general of the Observants being the minister general of the entire order. The Franciscans in California were Observants.

There was ever a rivalry between the Dominicans—Black Friars—or *Fratri Prædicatori*, as they styled themselves, and the Franciscans—Barefoot, Gray Friars, or

Minorites, the last the modest name bestowed upon them by St. Francis himself,—both being offshoots from the Augustinians.

The effort to break the temporal power of the priesthood, already begun in Spain, otherwise shown in the drastic measures employed toward the Jesuits, is evident in the orders received by Governor Portolá from the viceroy: "to intrust to the Franciscans . . . only that which pertained to the *sagrada y espiritual* [sacred and spiritual] of the missions, and on April 9 he had reported having placed in the missions, as *administradores*, soldiers 'that were very loyal' " (Richman, note).

The impression was very general that reports made by the Jesuits as to the poverty of the Peninsula were false; that, on the contrary, the mountains were enormously rich in minerals, and that, in reality, they had accumulated great wealth. Don Gaspar de Portolá and his men believed this, as did every one else; but they were soon undeceived, and the poverty of both missions and mines demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt.

In their lengthy marches, the aridity, lack of water, and other disadvantages of the country became only too insistently manifest for their comfort.

In a report to the viceroy, December 28, 1767, Governor Portolá describes the Peninsula as "sand sown with thorns and thistles."

Of the group of four interesting memorials to the king in 1760-61, previously referred to, one is especially so, presenting as it does many of the obstacles lying in the way of the advance overland into Alta California. The writer of all four, Pedro de Labaqueria, then in Spain, who had been for twelve years lieutenant captain general in Neuva Galicia, describes the dangers and needs from that viewpoint, and as one who knows intimately and at first-

hand much whereof he writes, "showing a keen knowledge of frontier conditions, in accounting for the failure to conquer the Apaches. The Apaches, when attacked, habitually retired to the mountains which were inaccessible to the presidial troops. This was due not merely to the fact that the latter were cavalrymen, but to the nature of the soldiers themselves. Most of them were mulattoes of very low character, without ambition, and unconquerably unwilling to travel on foot, as was necessary in a mountain attack. Moreover, their weapons carried so short a distance that the Apaches were wont to get just out of range and make open jest of the Spaniards Labaquera recommended that two hundred mountain fusileers of Spanish blood be recruited in Spain" especially for this Indian warfare.

In one of the documents, he referred to the episode of *las bolas de plata*—the balls of silver—and asked permission to explore the country in the neighborhood of that astonishing discovery; and, also, that a *presidio* be established there, and that he be put in command, showing in a businesslike way how very material benefits would accrue to the king in consequence. (Drawn, and where quoted, from Chapman.)

The story of *las bolas*, or *las planchas de plata*, is, briefly, as follows: "In 1736 a most remarkable silver mine was discovered at or near a place called Arizonac . . . just south of the border of the present-day state of Arizona. . . . the precious metal was found in balls or nuggets of almost pure silver. These were on or near the surface, and were of immense size, some of them weighing a ton or more." The largest *bola* authentically reported weighed about thirty-five hundred pounds, but many of five hundred pounds were found. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, of the Presidio of Fronteras, attempted to safeguard the find for the crown, contending that the deposit was not a mine in the ordinary sense but was treasure, and that, even if not hidden treasure, it was a *criadero*—an accumulating place—

for silver, "and therefore belonged to the national treasury." But in this he was not upheld by the viceroy, and, although he endeavored to prevent the despoiling of the treasure, by the time the royal decree came, sustaining him, there was little left. In an ordinary mine, the king's rights amounted to a fifth, "but if a hidden treasure, the king was entitled to all." But Anza himself stated that he had great difficulty in saving any of it for the king. (Drawn, and where quoted, from Chapman.) It seems that, later, the *bolas* were found to have been a *criadero*.

That same sturdy soldier sent a petition to the king, to be allowed to be the first to break a way to the northwest coast across the Gila and Colorado rivers. The *man who could*—who had the ability necessary to carry through the project—was of the first importance and not easily found, and for a time it seemed probable that he would receive the appointment, but indications did not result in orders, and, in 1739, Anza was killed in a battle with the Apaches.

So far as establishing settlements on the northwest coast of the Californias, difficulties by sea in 1769 were practically the same as in 1542 and 1602; their maintenance after establishment would still be almost impossible, with no nearer base of supplies than San Blas on the Mexican coast—Baja California as a base being out of the question, having, itself, to depend in great part on the mainland.

Between Sonora, the base for advance, and the Gila and Colorado rivers, the Indian situation, requiring constant vigilance, was a formidable barricade; and the much-petitioned-for overland route, to coöperate with that by sea, was more effectually blocked than it had been one hundred years before. The Apaches and Seris were always on the warpath, and, at times, aided and abetted by the usually friendly Pimas, joined in risings against the whites.

Although from time to time royal decrees were issued and plans formulated by Spanish officials toward the ends

petitioned for, nothing much came of them. But, while obstacles and difficulties in the way of northwestern advance and the founding of settlements in Alta California were many, the one great reason nothing was done was lack of money. Just so long as the menace to that frontier did not become too pressing, just so long could the occupation of that territory be postponed, and money—necessary for the equipment of the expedition by sea; for the establishment of a base at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers; for the opening of an inland route into Alta California; and for the establishing and maintaining of *presidios* and missions—could be diverted from the colonies to uses nearer home. For, most of the time, Spain was at war, the treasury in a constant state of depletion and the greatest possible revenue which could be drawn from her colonies must be drawn from them. But as the years went by the menace increased, and the outcome could be visualized, slowly but surely approaching. The point was being reached where the balance would shift, where dangers and necessities on the northwest frontier would outweigh obstacles and difficulties so long preventing an advance in that direction, and—that point reached—the northwestern advance would have to be made, and obstacles and difficulties would have to be surmounted at any cost, if the Californias, the littoral of New Spain, were to be held.

At last, after two hundred and twenty-seven years of lethargy, and one hundred and sixty-six years of that time of absolute inertia, the crucial time for Spain's supreme effort was in sight.

V

After a century of memorials to the king, and oft-made plans by the Spanish government to further northwestern advance, to establish a refitting station for the Manila galleons, and to take steps for the defense of the coast of the Californias,—plans which were always frustrated in one way or another, but principally because there was no money available for colonial advancement,—the unexpected happened.

During much of the period of seeming inertia, Spanish officials were in reality keenly alive to the situation, and foreign encroachment had eventually become a boggy seen at every turn. Spain had been confronted with many difficulties. The need of a strong army and navy stared her in the face at all times, if she hoped to retain her possessions in the New World and to hold her own in the wars in which she was constantly engaged.

In the *caja real*—the royal treasury of Spain—money did not seem to accumulate but only to pass through it. The policy for the mother country of building up and stabilizing her industries, and thus making it possible to extract heavy taxes without exhausting the country, was a wise one, but one not followed toward her colonies. Nothing was done for them nor was anything left them with which to work out their own salvation; the limit possible was expected and demanded of them; money must flow from the colonies into Spain rather than out of Spain into the colonies. When Carlos III came to the throne, the results of this home policy were very apparent in “an accumulation of resources unparalleled since the days of the Moriscos”

(Richman); but, no matter how much money was poured into the *caja real*, there was always the need for more.

Spain possessed many vessels of war—fifty or more—but vessels of war and armies must be supported, and so Don José de Gálvez was despatched in 1765 to New Spain as *visitador general*—inspector general—with well-nigh absolute powers, to investigate and reform the administration of the government in the different branches, “particularly in matters pertaining to the royal finances” (Bancroft); in other words, to devise ways and means to increase the royal revenues, and this the *visitador* did, enormously.

Strange as it may seem, and, oddly enough, by a single turn in events, the necessities of Spain, this lack of money which had prevented northwestern advance, and this policy of demanding “the pound of flesh, blood and all” from the colonies, which had caused the sending of Don José de Gálvez to New Spain, became indirectly the means by which some of the most important of the many things petitioned for were brought about.

José Bernardo de Gálvez Gallardo was born January 2, 1720, near Vélez-Málaga, in the picturesque little village of Macharaviaya. The story of the pastoral simplicity and poverty of his early life, and his rise step by step, up and up, to the seats of the mighty, as told by Priestley, who has given special study to the career of this remarkable man, reads like a fairy tale. Only most meager excerpts are possible here.

“The Macharaviaya branch of the Gálvez family was in those days reputed to be one of the oldest and purest of Spanish lines. . . . The most distinguished bearer of the name, prior to José de Gálvez, was Antón de Gálvez, seventh grandfather of the former, who bore a notable part in the wars against the Moors . . . in 1492. . . . From early times they were registered as *hijosdalgo*, and occupied official positions fitting their stations in life. Many

members of the family . . . became Caballeros de Calatrava, and served their sovereigns in distinguished posts. They were known as 'Old Christians,' without admixture of foreign or heathen blood; they had never engaged in any low or mechanical employment, and resided on their own estates.

"Notwithstanding the purity of its lineage, or perhaps on account of it, the Macharaviaya family at the time of the birth of José was as poor as it was proud and ancient. . . . The poor farmer having gone to his rest, his young sons were obliged to gain their livelihood as shepherd boys, for flocks and herds were the mainstay of the community. In this humble employment José de Gálvez spent his early years, with intervals of attendance at the boys' school in the neighboring village of Benaque.

"When he was eight years old the village priest took him as an acolyte. This circumstance brought him, three or four years later, under the notice of the bishop of Málaga, Diego González Toro. . . . The bishop was impressed with the possibilities which the boy showed, and took him to Málaga to be educated for the priesthood" (Priestley).

In 1735, he was awarded a fellowship in the seminary of San Sebastián at Málaga, "upon proof of his legitimate birth, his purity from taint of Moorish blood, and of the fact that he had never engaged in any low or ignoble occupation" (*ibid.*).

In 1737, his benefactor died, and shortly after, Gálvez went to Madrid. He did not become a priest, but studied law at the University of Salamanca, and, later, practiced his profession at Madrid. His fine knowledge of the French language—his mastery of its subtleties, his charm of expression and fluency seem to have been at that time his greatest asset, for it drew the attention of eminent Frenchmen at the court of Spain, to him. It was a most useful stepping-stone; and he became legal councilor for

the French ambassador, and, afterward, a secretary to the first minister of state, the Marqués de Grimaldi.

"A more romantic tradition has it that there occurred in Madrid in 1747 a notable lawsuit (*ruidoso pleito*) between the state and a foreign business house. Gálvez, employed as counsel by the foreigners, made such a brilliant argument before the court that he won the suit, to the astonishment of the most able jurists. His success attracted the attention of the King, who invited the young lawyer to an interview. Charles asked him how he had had the temerity to defend a case against the state, to which Gálvez is reputed to have replied: 'Señor, antes que el rey está la ley'—'My lord, the law is greater than the King.' The readiness and fearlessness of the answer is supposed to have been the young man's 'open sesame' to distinction. . . .

"Upon the death of Francisco Armona, who was chosen visitor-general of New Spain in 1764, Gálvez was appointed February 20, 1765, to perform the visitation. Eight days later he was made honorary member of the Council of the Indies with seniority, in order 'that he might serve with more character in the employment of visitor.' It was customary to grant to *visitadores* who went to the New World, some such distinction, in order to hold out prospect of employment for them when they should return to Spain. While Gálvez was still in America he was further rewarded by the king for his activities by being made, on December 28, 1767 a *ministro togado* of the Council and Chamber of the Indies; that is, he was made eligible to sit in the chamber of justice, than which no higher distinction in the Council could be conceded to him while he was absent from the capital, as he obviously could discharge no duties of the office while so situated" (*ibid.*).

Enormous powers were conferred upon Gálvez as *visitador general*; "he was to all intents the highest authority in New Spain" (Bancroft). Yet, from the moment of his arrival, inimical to the proper execution of

his plans was the attitude of the viceroy, Joaquín de Montserrat, Marqués de Cruillas, who, largely because of this, was recalled and replaced in office, in 1766, by the Marqués de Croix, born at Lille, Flanders, with whom the *visitador* was in entire accord.

Shortly after the arrival of the new viceroy, the Indian situation in Sonora and Sinaloa became very serious, Apaches, Seris, and Pimas being implicated, and this was given careful consideration by the two officials.

Following a recommendation by the *visitador*, dated January 15, 1768, as to certain changes in the government of these provinces, looking toward their betterment (and also toward an increase in royal revenues), in which the Californias were named—evincing an intention on his part to draw them into governmental live issues,—a *junta* was held on January 21, and Gálvez was named to head an expedition to the frontier provinces. On the 23d, the viceroy's plan for a new government—a *comandancia general*—for the frontier provinces of Neuva Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Californias, to be forwarded to the king, was ready. This was a Gálvez plan, signed by De Croix, and also, by Gálvez as *visitador*. This plan was submitted to Archbishop Lorenzana, who, under date of January 27, approved it. In this joint despatch to the king, "fundamental in the history of California" (Richman), in which plans were developed for a new form of provincial government, advantage was taken of the excellent opportunity to bring to his attention the menace of foreign encroachment—explained, iterated, and reiterated in these pages—expatiated upon and brought up to date, and, as a means of defense and a refuge for the galleons, an expedition to the northwest coast was urged, and the occupation of Monterey stressed.

Leaving the capital on April 9, the *visitador* was overtaken by despatches from the viceroy while on his way to

the Jalisco coast, on May 5, one day out from Guadalajara. Despatches is a convenient word, but the nature of these particular despatches is rather material to the story, and has been the subject of some conjecture: whether they were specific orders for the occupation of Monterey at that time—or were not—in order to determine how far Gálvez was responsible—or Croix, at the suggestion of Gálvez. This communication is referred to as royal orders, a royal decree, a mandate, and, now and then, as a reply to the joint despatch, this last bringing about a discord of dates impossible to harmonize, until they are summarily brought into assonance by the simple statement that it was not—could not have been—for whatever the nature of the communication received by the viceroy from Spain and the contents transmitted to the *visitador*, both documents bore the same date: January 23, 1768. It is unnecessary to underscore the obvious! But the joint despatch bore fruit later, in approvals from government officials and the king.

As to the nature of the contents, we find in Bancroft's *History of California, 1542-1800*: "Shortly after his departure Viceroy Croix received from King Carlos III. orders to the effect that in connection with other precautions against the Russians on the northwest coast, San Diego and Monterey should be occupied and fortified. . . . How the order was worded, whether peremptory in its terms or in the form of a recommendation, does not appear. But that under ordinary circumstances it would have been obeyed with any degree of promptitude may well be doubted. . . . The royal order was clear that San Diego and Monterey should be occupied The cause of this unusual promptness was in the man who undertook to carry out the order. The whole matter was by the viceroy turned over to José de Galvez"

With further research, it has developed that the communication from Arriaga, under date of January 23, 1768, to Croix—the *raison d'être* of the despatches received by

Gálvez en route—was not an order for the occupation and fortification of San Diego and Monterey. This is made plain by Dr. Chapman in *The Founding of Spanish California*, who says: "In a letter dated November 31 [sic], 1767, the Vizconde de la Herrería had written to the Marqués de Grimaldi, Spanish minister of state, that the Russian empress was not desisting from her attempt to establish communications with the Pacific coasts of America, and was preparing expeditions. The papers were forwarded to Julián de Arriaga, who wrote to Croix, January 23, 1768, that the Russians were planning to found settlements on the North American coast, or had done so already, as some believed. He bade Croix order the governor of the Californias to exercise vigilance to observe these attempts, frustrating them if possible. This letter, it will be observed, did not order an expedition to Monterey, as has usually been stated Gálvez afterward said that Croix directed him to despatch an expedition to Monterey . . . which statement is confirmed by Croix."

Digging into the history of that period in New Spain, it is apparent that José de Gálvez was very much the *deus ex machina* starting into motion long stationary governmental machinery appertaining to Alta California. For several years he had had the occupation of Monterey in mind, a natural sequence to the plan for a *comandancia general*, and, as a preliminary to both, the establishment of the port of San Blas.

While still at Guadalajara and, of course, before receiving Croix's despatches on May 5, Gálvez had, it seems, referred to his plans for the exploration of the Californias.

After Gálvez had begun to organize the Department of San Blas, where he arrived on May 13, a *junta* was held on the 16th to consider the proposed expedition to Alta California, and important preliminaries were decided upon.

Those taking part were the *visitador*; Miguel Costansó, officer of engineers; Antonio Farveau Quesada, mathematician and pilot; Manuel Rivero Cordero, *comandante de la marina*; and Vicente Vila, navigator of the royal navy. It was decided that the new brigantines, the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, were to be used, sailing in June or July, from San Blas or Cape San Lucas.

Preparations were to begin at once, collecting the cargoes for the two brigantines, then absent on the expedition to Guaymas with troops. Many details as to personnel of crews and other things were arranged; a land expedition despatched from the northern missions of Baja California was also determined upon. No one knew better than Gálvez the impossibility of an advance into Alta California from Sonora at that time, for one matter bringing him to the coast had been the outfitting of an expedition for the relief of Sonora.

Many changes having been brought about in Baja California by the expulsion of the Jesuits, a tour of inspection of the Peninsula by the *visitador* was deemed advisable, and Gálvez determined to go at that time.

The Gulf of California—the “Sea of Cortés,” as it was first called—had had a bad name, by whichever of its several appellations it had been designated; but even so, this run across from the mainland to the Peninsula turned out to be something more of an undertaking than was ever expected. The *visitador* set sail from San Blas, on May 24, in the sloop *Sinaloa*, accompanied by an escort of two other vessels, the *Concepción* and the *Pison*; but on the night of the 28th, they became separated. On June 14, seventeen days later, the *Concepción* arrived at Cerralvo Inlet, and the announcement was made that the *visitador* might be expected at any moment. Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, in command of the garrison at Loreto, the capital, was duly notified to that effect.

But Don José did not arrive so immediately, for, in the

meantime,—and for some time after,—the *Sinaloa* was alternately the sport of winds and calms. When eight days out, she was forced into a bay of La Isla Isabela and held there four days. On the 5th of June, becalmed, she was rowed to Las Islas Tres Marías, and there, taking advantage of the delay, Gálvez explored assiduously for six days. On the 13th, she was under way, but arrived at Mazatlán, where she remained until July 2, when, with a wind "*fresco y favorable* [fresh and favorable]" sails were again run up and she was headed across the gulf, and, with better luck at her heels, reached the Peninsula on the 5th, the *visitador* being met upon arrival, with all due ceremony, by Captain Rivera.

Gálvez established headquarters at the *hacienda* of Manuel de Ocio, at the royal mining camp of Santa Ana, not far from La Paz, and, while making a thorough investigation of conditions in the Peninsula, was arranging to carry out the viceroy's instructions—but in his own way.

The expedition was to be despatched in four divisions: two by sea, two by land, to start separately, rendezvous at San Diego, and then press on to Monterey. Thus a practical knowledge of both routes would be gained, and risks of failure lessened.

The way up the Peninsula for the land forces, in connection with divisions despatched by sea, could be used in the present need, whatever should afterward be determined upon as a permanent route between Mexico and Alta California. To approach Alta California by way of the Peninsula was plainly an expedient.

Santa María, near the border, was named as the gathering place of all land forces, animals, and supplies to be sent overland; but because of lack of pasturage, Velicatá was afterward selected.

There was no one with whom he was obliged to consult; there was no danger of pigeonholing his communications

and frustrating his plans. He was the supreme power, and his plans were soon made, for "he travels fastest who travels alone."

The name of José de Gálvez should never be forgotten by a Californian. "He is entitled to the first place among the pioneers of California though he never set foot in the country" (Bancroft). A man of superb ability, independent, brushing aside useless formalities, empowered to act,—and, for another reason, because his heart was in it,—he was able to accomplish what ordinarily might never have gone beyond the first formal procedure. Just a little more dillydallying—mandates received had come to nothing—and Spain's opportunity would have become Russia's. The skies were sunny, the soil was fertile, and grain was needed in Alaska; furs were in demand and otters were many; and gold might have been discovered by the Muscovites. Thus the story of Alta California, as we know it, would never have been told!

Gálvez found, in Baja California, the very best possible human material for his purpose. At the time of his arrival in July, 1768, Portolá had been on the Peninsula as civil and military governor since the previous October; Rivera y Moncada, commanding the garrison at Loreto, a much longer time and knew the country well; while the Franciscans, with Junípero Serra as their *padre presidente*, had been in control of the missions vacated by the Jesuits, for about three months.

The first division was to be under command of Rivera y Moncada, while Portolá was to head the second. Rivera had also been appointed *comisario*. In August or September, 1768, he set out on a tour to requisition whatever he could for the proposed advance and the founding of the new establishments.

Two missions, in addition to San Diego and Monterey, were to be established: one halfway between those two, and

the other on the frontier, to facilitate communication. So far as was possible, the Peninsula missions were to furnish everything needful to the missions to be founded in *Nueva California*—New California—as it was called. In planning thus to denude the Peninsula missions of the furnishings which had been collected by the now dispersed Jesuits, Gálvez was but following precedent: that missions already established should equip those about to be. The list was long of things deemed necessary for the new missions, and everything was relentlessly appropriated, beginning with seven church bells and ending with silks, laces, and such other materials as are used for vestments and church upholstery. Some time after, this matter was brought up by the Dominicans, but Padre Palou, who was left in charge of the chain of missions by Serra, and afterward transferred to Alta California, and whose *Life of Serra* is of inestimable value, states that the *visitador*, the viceroy, and the king repaid the missions for all that was taken at that time.

Meanwhile, as the occupation was to be not only civil and military but spiritual, as well,—the usual triple arrangement of the second phase of Spanish conquest, the first being exploration and discovery,—and as missions were to be founded, an invitation had been sent the *padre presidente*, at Loreto, to come to headquarters for a conference with the *visitador*.

He had known, without doubt, all that had been going on, and was keenly and personally interested.

In due time, he arrived at Santa Ana, and plans for the expedition were gone into. Serra not only approved of what had been done or was in contemplation, but announced that he himself would join the expedition, going with a division of the land forces.

From this time on, Serra was in a state of exaltation, and, so far as he himself was concerned, dissociated from mate-

rial things, living far above his own bodily afflictions, seeing only before him the realization, at last, of his long-pent-up hope: the hope which had brought him to New Spain; the hope which, long years before, had prompted him to turn his back upon all worldly preferment so alluringly held out to him, and to journey into unexplored wilds, among savages, a missionary, bearing to them, as he was absolutely certain he was, eternal salvation, a blessed privilege confided to him and which he could delegate to no one. Years before, in far-off Mallorca, he had dreamed a daydream,—this follower of St. Francis, “The Seraphic Saint” loved of all men,—and ever and always, a guiding star before him, was the hope that the dream might come true; and, although the realization was long in appearing, when it did arrive at last, he went forth with the great desire still burning within him, to meet his dream, a reality.

On November 21, the *visitador* issued a proclamation making San José (St. Joseph) patron saint of the expedition, and charging the priests to say mass and to implore, through the intercession of this saint, divine protection. But, because “His Illustrious Lordship”—representing “His Most Catholic Majesty, Don Carlos III of Spain”—stated, in orders, the first object of the expedition to be “the spreading of the Catholic faith,” it came to be known as “The Sacred Expedition [*La Expedición Santa*]” of Don José de Gálvez.

Available for the seagoing divisions were two small vessels, the largest and strongest on the coast, nevertheless, which had been used as transports to Sonora, the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, then under command of Captains Vicente Vila and Juan Pérez, experienced navigators of the royal navy.

The *comandante* at San Blas was instructed to outfit them as expeditiously as possible and to send them to La Paz, the *embarcadero*, where Gálvez, with headquarters

still at Santa Ana, superintended everything in person, communicating his own enthusiasm to those about him, and, in addition to supervising all arrangements for the division to go by sea, sent north to Rivera supplies for the land division.

The *San Carlos*, a brigantine of eleven sails, but badly constructed, as were all craft thereabouts, having been outfitted at San Blas, and loaded with many things for the northern establishments, arrived in the early part of December, 1768, at La Paz, in a leaky and unseaworthy condition, having encountered stormy weather in crossing the gulf. The vessel had, therefore, to be unloaded, careened, and put into condition to go to sea. Hittell relates that "Upon examination it was found that a coating of pitch would be necessary to put the bottom in good condition. But there was no pitch on hand and none to be procured. Under the circumstances Galvez conceived the idea of extracting a substitute for it from certain plants that were found in the neighborhood; and to the astonishment of everybody he succeeded in doing so. Nor did he disdain to labor with his own hands at the work. When this was done and the repairs finished, he directed the packing of the stores; and, as he had taken part in the repairs, so he also took part in the lading," encouraging his men, and creating an interest in the undertaking.

By January 9, 1769, the *San Carlos* was ready; and the first step toward the desired goal was about to be undertaken. Detailed on board was Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages with his company of Catalan Volunteers, coming originally to New Spain in 1761, and withdrawn from Sonora and Sinaloa for service with the expedition to Alta California: to subdue the *gentilidad*—gentiles—should it be necessary, before the arrival of the other divisions.

"All who were going in her confessed, heard mass, partook of the communion, and then listened to a parting

address from Galvez. The visitador reminded his hearers that theirs was a glorious mission, that they were going to plant the cross among the heathen, and charged them in the name of God, the king, and the viceroy to respect their priests and maintain peace and union among themselves. Finally Junípero Serra pronounced a formal blessing on the pilgrims, their vessel, the flag, the crew, and on Father Parron The ceremony over, the *San Carlos* [with sixty-two persons on board] put to sea. Galvez in the *Concepcion* accompanied her down the gulf" (Bancroft).

"Stopping at San Lucas only long enough to take fresh water, and hay for the cattle, the *San Carlos*, on the night of January 15 stood for the South Sea. . . . For four days there prevailed light and contrary winds, with opposing currents of the ocean, and on each of the four days the *visitador*, from a high hill (*cerro eminente*), watched with anxious gaze the far-off and baffled ship. But on the 20th good breezes sprang 'from the east and southeast,' and 'straightway the *San Carlos* disappeared' " (Richman).

The *San Antonio* was to follow the *San Carlos* immediately—and a supply ship, the *San José*, close on her track, —but upon arrival at Cape San Lucas, on the 25th of January, the *San Antonio* was in much the same condition the *San Carlos* had been after crossing the gulf. She had to be unloaded and careened, and was not ready to sail for almost a month after the flagship had departed; but on February 15, after the usual ceremonies, favored by a fair wind, she was headed north, and the two divisions by sea had been despatched.

Such delays and difficulties were not always alone due to faulty construction, for the teredo, which, Hakluyt narrates, "many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake," played an important part in rendering vessels unsea-

worthy—even as the caravels of Columbus “were bored as full of holes as a honeycomb.”

Meanwhile, the *comisario*, Rivera y Moncada, had visited all the missions on his way north, collecting two hundred cattle, one hundred and eighty-eight horses and mules, food, and various implements. All his preparations were now so far advanced that he notified Gálvez at Santa Ana, and Serra, who had returned to Loreto in January from his ingathering among the missions at the southern end of the Peninsula and was now busily engaged in forwarding articles both to La Paz and to Velicatá, that his division would be in readiness to start for San Diego in March.

Padre Juan Crespí, who had been selected to accompany the first division by land, was notified, and left his mission, La Purísima Concepción, on February 21, being joined on the way by Padre Lasuén, who was to bestow the blessing upon the departure of the first division. The two reached Velicatá on March 22, and two days later Rivera's division marched, guided by the cosmographer, José Cañizares, *pilotin*—master's mate—of the *San Carlos*, detached for land duty. In this division there were three *arrieros*, some forty-one Christianized Indians, and twenty-five soldiers from the *presidio: soldados de cuera*, so called because of their *cuera*, or heavily quilted, sleeveless jacket or coat, covered with several thicknesses of deerskin to turn the arrows of the Indians. For further protection, there was the *adarga*—shield—made of two thicknesses of rawhide. They were mounted, and man and horse were still further protected, not only from arrows, but, in riding through *chaparral*, by the *armas*, an apron of leather, fastened to the pommel, falling in front of the horse as low as the stirrups and draped over the legs and thighs of the rider.

Of them, these *soldados de cuera*, wrote Don Miguel Costansó, an officer in the royal army of Spain: “It is not too much to say that they are the best horsemen in the

world and among the best soldiers in the service of the King."

The second division of the land forces was commanded by Captain Don Gaspar de Portolá, Governor of the Californias,—who had been entrusted, in 1767, with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja California, with orders to remain as governor. With him were Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega and nine or ten "regulars," forty-four Christianized Indians, four *arrieros*, and two servants. The *padre presidente* was to be with this division and, because of his condition, one of the servants was for him. He was very lame and no one except himself believed he could possibly make the journey. When Portolá left Loreto on March 9, Serra's collection of vestments and other church accessories was not quite complete. Sending Padre Campa y Cos to represent him until he himself could join them, he announced that he would soon follow, and he did. At the end of March, he was ready, and, indomitable as ever, although suffering excruciating pain, set out. On May 5, he arrived at Santa María, where Portolá's division had been detained waiting for supplies coming by water from La Paz to San Luis Bay. He had visited en route "all the missions, except Santa Rosalía, which lay too far [eighteen leagues] from the road" (Engelhardt).

On May 11, the whole division left Santa María, reaching Velicatá three days later on Pentecost Sunday, May 14, 1769, and there founding the mission planned for the frontier: San Fernando, the only mission founded on the Peninsula by the Franciscans.

This division was mustered for its advance into Alta California at San Juan de Díos, six leagues north of Velicatá. On May 21, the march to San Diego began, following closely the trail of the first division under Rivera y Moncada.

The fourth and last division was on its way.

VI

After a prosperous voyage, with fair winds, the *San Antonio* dropped anchor in the bay of San Diego, on April 11, 1769. Nothing was to be seen of the *San Carlos*, which had cleared Cape San Lucas on January 15, one month prior to the departure of the *San Antonio* on February 15, under the auspices of San Antonio de Padua, patron saint alike of the day and of the vessel. The land forces were not yet due, and it was soon evident that the *capitana* had not arrived.

The first land sighted by the *San Antonio* was one of the Santa Bárbara Channel Islands, Santa Cruz, about a degree and a half too far north. Turning, she ran down the coast and, passing *Punta Guajarros*—Cobblestone Point,—entered the port, the first vessel flying the flag of Spain, and, in fact, the first craft of any kind to disturb the waters of the bay other than the canoes of the Indians, since the *San Diego*, *Tres Reyes*, and *San Tomás* of the Vizcaíno expedition in 1603, one hundred and sixty-six years before.

Vila's appointment by Gálvez, dated December 27, 1768 (Bancroft, note), designates him as: "‘Capitan, Piloto Mayor, y comandante del *San Carlos* [Captain, Chief Navigator, and commander of the *San Carlos*],’" and further, as "‘piloto de los primeros de la Real Armada [sailing-master of the first class in the Royal Navy].’" Orders to him, dated January 5, 1769, were issued in duplicate to Captain Pérez in command of the *San Antonio*, with no expectation, however, that positions as set forth might through some untoward circumstance be reversed. They are, in part and substantially, as follows: "‘Instrucción to be observed by D. Vicente Vila, . . . Captain Com-

mandante of the *paquebot* of his majesty called the *San Carlos* alias *Toison de Oro* [Golden Fleece] in the voyage which by divine aid this vessel is to make to the ports of San Diego and Monterey, situated on the northern coast of this peninsula of Californias in 33° and 37° of latitude.' . . . 1st. The object is to establish the Catholic faith, to extend Spanish domain, to check the ambitious schemes of a foreign nation, and to carry out a plan formed by Felipe III. as early as 1606. Therefore no pains can be spared without offense to God, the king, and the country. 2d. The vessel being new, strong, and well supplied for over a year, to be followed by the *San Antonio* with additional supplies, having only 300 leagues to make, having a strong military force, and going to a land whose natives are docile, have no arms but bows and arrows, and are without boats, there can be no excuse *en lo humano* for failure. 3d. Vila is to sail Jan. 7th, weather permitting, keep out to sea according to his judgment in search of favorable winds, to take careful observations, and to stand in shore at 34°, San Diego being in 33° according to the *cédula* of Felipe III., and being easy to find by Vizcaino's narrative enclosed with this document in print in the third volume of the *Noticia de Californias* (that is in *Venegas, Not. Cal.*, iii. 85-9)" (*ibid.*, note).

Vila was to wait fifteen days, or at most twenty, for Rivera y Moncada with the first division of the land forces. While waiting, Don Pedro Fages and Don Miguel Costansó were to explore and make surveys; and wood and water were to be replenished.

On the arrival of Rivera y Moncada—or should he not have arrived after twenty days—the *San Carlos* was to sail for Monterey, the consort, the *San Antonio*, with her should she have arrived. Also, Vila was to remain at Monterey "in the best fitted of the two vessels" to await the arrival of the *San José*. It had been assumed that the *capitana* would be the first to arrive at San Diego, and that the

Catalonian Volunteers under Lieutenant Fages would be found already in full possession upon the arrival of the other division, but, as it turned out, the *San Antonio*, the only one of the four divisions without soldiers, was the first to arrive. In consequence, and mindful of his responsibilities, Captain Pérez did not send out exploring parties.

The two friars, Juan Vizcaíno and Pedro Gómez, remained closely on board ship, having been instructed to take no unnecessary risks.

Beauty—everywhere—for him who looked to see, made no appeal to those on the *San Antonio* cradled in the waters of the wonderful bay, kissed by the sun of those April days, shining in that transparent atmosphere, and bluer than the lupines carpeting the hills. All was conjecture and anxiety as to the fate of the *San Carlos*.

Days passed; and at last, when hope was at a very low ebb, the *capitana* appeared.

Getting under way, after lying for days off the outer coast of the Peninsula waiting for a wind, the *San Carlos* had been pursued by misfortune. Almost immediately, water casks were found to be leaking badly and it was not long before many were quite empty. They were refilled but the water was not good, and wearying difficulties were encountered in obtaining any fit for use.

There was much sickness on board. Scurvy developed. Many seamen and some of Fages' men were incapacitated. Illness of all kinds was aggravated by bad water, but the men were too ailing and weak to launch a boat, lower casks, and procure fresh. There were several deaths and the colder weather of more northern latitudes added greatly to the discomfort of the sick. Daily, conditions grew worse.

According to orders, Captain Vila proceeded farther north than their destination, carefully checking his course from Cabrera Bueno and Vizcaíno.

Among other entries in the log "From Tuesday, 25, to

Wednesday, April 26.—"Vila records: "At sunrise, I was between four islands and the mainland; the country high and mountainous with several high ridges . . . all of them covered with snow, like the Sierras Nevadas of Granada on the coast between Motril and Salobreña near the Mediterranean."

Dropping down the coast, keeping a sharp lookout for the entrance he is seeking, Vila notes Santa Catalina Island, in one connection or another, several times; mentions San Clemente and "made San Pedro Bay."

He records: "From Friday, 28, to Saturday, April 29.—Ranged along shore At nine o'clock [the next morning], as . . . the fog had lifted somewhat, the islets or rocks, which General Vizcaíno called Los Coronados, and the pilot Cabrera Bueno, islands of San Martín, were sighted. They are the best and surest marks for making the port of San Diego which is situated . . . due north of these islands."

Certain of his bearings, on the next afternoon, Captain Don Vicente Vila records: "From Saturday, 29, to Sunday, April 30.—On the lookout for the port under all sail; heading to the eastward"

At four o'clock, according to the log, many things were done to the sails, which he describes in nautical terminology and with technical detail unnecessary here. One hour later, he has taken the *San Carlos* safely through the entrance to the harbor of San Diego.

He says: "It was five o'clock in the afternoon when I passed through, hauling the wind, which changed to the merest puff from the northward, with flaws. At this hour I discovered the packet *San Antonio* anchored at Point Guajarro, and we broke out our colors. She broke out hers and fired one gun to call in her launch which was ashore. . . . I lowered the topsails and anchored in six fathoms of water"

Almost had the impossible been accomplished—and how

gallantly he had done his duty, this *don* in the service of the king!

Don Vicente—our hero of the moment—further relates: "At eight o'clock at night, the launch of the *San Antonio* came with her second in command and pilot, Don Miguel del Pino, who gave us an account of her voyage. She arrived at this port . . . with half of her crew down with scurvy, of which two men had died. They had only the seven men who came in the launch [fit] for work; of these a few felt symptoms of the disease. Captain Juan Perez was also in poor health, and only the two missionaries were well."

The next morning the *San Antonio* saluted with six guns, and after mass the flagship answered with five. At half after ten, Captain Don Juan Pérez and the two *frailes*, Vizcaíno and Gómez, came on board.

Later, the *San Carlos* heaved anchor and found another anchorage alongside the *San Antonio*.

Following orders, Pérez had made all preparations for the *San Antonio* to sail for Monterey on May 1, but the arrival of the *San Carlos*, which proved a veritable pestship, perforce changed all plans.

Eventually, both ships anchored in the inner harbor to be nearer fresh water and in order to land the sick more easily, tents having been erected for them on shore.

Captain Vila records: "From Monday, 8, to Tuesday, May 9.—After the completion of the lodgings and shelters, the disembarking of the sick was begun and at four o'clock in the afternoon they were all ashore; I remained on board with the quarter-master, who was extremely ill, a Galician seaman, and a little cabin-boy who also had touches of the disease. I was unable to walk, and Fray Fernando Parron also was ill." Drawn, and where quoted, from the *Diary of Vicente Vila* (Rose).

Guns and ammunition were transported to the improvised hospital and the guns of the *San Carlos* pointed so as to afford protection to the men on shore.

Pedro Prat, a Frenchman, a surgeon in the royal army of Spain, detailed on board the *San Carlos*, took charge of the sick, assisted by the Franciscan friars.

Soon, more tents and shelters had to be added, for disease contracted from the sick on the *San Carlos* attacked the crew of the *San Antonio*, and "those who were well had all they could do caring for the sick and burying the dead."

In order to ask their help in locating good drinking water, more needed than anything else, the Spaniards sought a parley with the Indians. Their intentions were so entirely misunderstood that only after much diplomacy, no little difficulty, and many efforts did they succeed; but they were finally guided to a supply of fine water, which could be approached to within easy reach by the ship's boat, through a little inlet penetrating the land for some distance. The immediate surroundings seem to have been charming, for Don Miguel Costansó writes: "Within the grove was a variety of Shrubs and odoriferous Plants, as the Rosemary, the Salvia, Roses of Castile, and above all a quantity of Wild Grapevines, the which at the time were in flower. The Country was of joyous aspect, . . . capable of producing every species of fruits" (Lummis).

Surgeon Prat was untiring in his efforts to alleviate the condition of the sick, and strove to add to his inadequate supply of medicines "with some herbs," says Costansó, "which he sought in the Fields with a thousand anxieties. Of the virtues of which, he had knowledge, and he himself was in as sore need of them as were the Sick, since he found himself little less than prostrated with the same afflictions as they" (*ibid.*).

From similar experiences, endured and almost expected

by maritime expeditions, Don Miguel Costansó says, in his *Diario Histórico*, "was born the resolution to send by land another Expedition, which, directing itself toward the same destination as the Maritime [expedition], could lend to or receive from the latter according to circumstances, such succor as they might mutually need" (*ibid.*).

Upon the arrival of the first division of the land forces under Rivera y Moncada, Fages selected a new site for the camp, nearer the water supply, at a point where the river empties into the north end of the bay, a spot called by the Indians *Cosoy*.

The natives ascribed the illness of the whites to their food, and while they would accept—or steal—anything else, no food coming from the Spaniards was allowed to pass the lips of men, women, or children. This was indeed fortunate, for the Indians became very troublesome and more and more daring in their thievery, later on visiting the *San Carlos* at night, which was guarded by only two soldiers, taking the ropes and cutting pieces out of the sails. Such material attracted them greatly, bringing out to the full their propensity to steal, until they boldly even removed the sheets from under the sick. Had the small supply of food on hand made an equal appeal, the Spaniards would soon have faced starvation. Costansó tells us that "The cold made itself felt with rigor at night . . . and the Sun . . . by day—alternations which made the Sick suffer cruelly, two or three of them dying every day . . ." (*ibid.*).

To press on to Monterey was clearly impossible, and orders to explore and make surveys in the vicinity of San Diego had to be disregarded by Fages and Costansó, Fate having evidently determined that the care of the sick and the safeguarding of their few possessions were all they were to attempt at that time. A greater number is given by others—varying with the diarists—but in a letter to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, dated June 22,

Fray Juan Crespi wrote that there had been twenty-three deaths.

These deplorable conditions may have sown the seed, at this time, for a harvest of psychological reactions in the Indians, and having to do with the greater difficulty experienced in making converts at San Diego than at the other missions. If any impressions still remained of the divine origin of the white man, they must have been rudely shattered by the sight of the ravages of disease and death among them. Belief in the superiority of such weaklings was impossible; neither could they have confidence in the religion proffered by those so manifestly deserted by their gods!

The second division under Don Gaspar de Portolá, after founding the new mission of San Fernando at Velicatá, proceeded to San Juan de Díos, about three leagues farther on. By that time, Serra's leg was so swollen that mortification seemed about to set in. He was in such agony that Governor Portolá suggested his return to Velicatá, but this he would not even consider, saying: "Let us not speak of that. I have put all my confidence in God, through whose goodness I hope to be permitted not only to reach San Diego in order to plant and establish the standard of the Holy Cross at that port but at that of Monterey as well" (Palou).

"The governor now ordered a litter to be made, but the humble Serra would not consent to be carried by human beings. In this extremity he prayed to God most fervently for assistance; then calling a muleteer, Juan Coronel by name, he said to him, 'My son, can you find some remedy for my sore foot and leg?'

" 'What remedy can I have?' Coronel replied. 'I am not a surgeon. I am only a mule-driver, and can cure the wounds of my beasts only.'

" 'Well, my son,' said the sufferer, 'imagine that I am

one of those animals, and that this is one of their wounds, which pains me so much that I cannot sleep; then apply the same remedy you would apply to one of the beasts.

" 'This I will do to please you, Father,' said the man. Taking some tallow he mixed it with herbs and applied the poultice to the sore leg of Fr. Junípero. God rewarded the humility of His servant. The patient rested quietly that night, and the next morning, to the surprise of every one, he arose early to recite matins . . ." (Engelhardt).

The expedition now proceeded and, under date of May 28, Serra records in his diary: "Until now we had not seen any Women among them [the Indians], and I desired for the present not to see them fearing that they went naked as the men. When two [women] appeared, talking as rapidly and efficaciously as this sex knows how and is accustomed to do; and when I saw them so honestly covered that we could take it in good part if greater nudities were never seen among the Christian women of the Missions, I was not sorry for their arrival."

June 2d, he sets down: "Flowers many, and beautiful . . . and to-day . . . we have met the Queen . . . the Rose of Castile. When I write this I have before me a branch . . . with three roses opened, others in Bud, and more than six unpetaled. Blessed be He who created them!" (Lummis).

Word having been received at San Diego that the second division of land forces was approaching, ten men under Sergeant José Ortega were detailed to go back along the road, meet the governor, and escort him to camp. He arrived on June 28 or 29 (authorities differ), in advance of his men, who, with the *padre presidente*, arrived on July 1, a little before noon.

The land forces were more fortunate than the divisions by sea, both sections arriving in good health. Costansó

says: "The Folk by Land came all without having lost one Man, after a march of two Months; but on half Rations . . . the entire daily ration two *Tortillas* to each individual" (Lummis).

Two days after reaching San Diego, the *padre presidente* wrote to Padre Palou acting in his stead at Loreto. Beginning his letter after the manner of the Spanish Franciscans, with the invocation: "'*Viva Jesus, Maria y Joseph*'" (Palou), he continues in the form in use at that time but in keeping with their close friendship, and addresses him as "'*Carisimo mio y mi Señor* [My beloved and Sir]'" (*ibid.*).

He writes: "'Thanks be to God! I arrived the day before yesterday, the first of the month, at this truly fine and justly famous port of San Diego. Here I found those that had set out before me, both by land and by sea, except those that have died. . . . Here are also the two vessels, the San Carlos and the San Antonio; the former, however, without sailors, all having died of the scurvy, except one . . .'" Referring to the *San Antonio*, he says: "'While assisting the crew of the San Carlos, her own sailors were attacked by the malady which carried off eight of her men.'"

"'Our journey to this place was a happy one. Though I started out with a sore leg, it daily grew better, with the help of God, and now it is as sound as the other. We have not suffered from hunger or other privations, . . . but all arrived safely and in good health. . . . In some places the road was good, but the greater part of the way was bad. About midway the valleys and rivulets began to be delightful. We found vines of a large size, and in some cases quite loaded with grapes. We also found an abundance of roses . . . of Castile ["'hay varias rosas de Castilla'" (Palou)]. In fine, it is a good country, and very different from Old California. . . . We have seen immense num-

bers of Indians. . . . All the males, old and young, go entirely naked On our whole journey we found that the Indians treated us with confidence and good will, as though they had known us all their lives During the whole march we found hares, rabbits, and some deer, and also multitudes of wild goats. The mission has not as yet been founded, but it will soon be done. I pray God to preserve your health and life many years to come. . . . Port and intended mission of San Diego in North California, July 3d, 1769. [And just here in the letter is a bit uniquely Spanish, found in a copy of Palou's *Vida* (and it must be in every copy) needing some little red tape to glimpse, printed in Mexico in 1787,—bound without boards in sheepskin, now mellowed to a soft pearl gray, tied with thongs,—which reads: "*B. L. M. de V. R., su afectisimo Hermano y Siervo*—I kiss the hands of Your Reverence, your most affectionate Brother and Servant."—Fr. Junípero Serra'"] (Engelhardt).

Despite the deplorable state of affairs found awaiting them upon arrival at the camp at San Diego, Serra's enthusiasm is apparent as he sets down for Padre Palou his impressions of the new land to which they have come.

Governor Portolá's report, dated July 4, as to conditions at the camp, presents a more heart-rending picture: "'all without exception, seamen, soldiers, and officers, are stricken with scurvy,—some wholly prostrated, some half disabled, others on foot without strength, until the total number of dead is thirty-one'" (Richman).

Afflictions seem more poignant when Costansó says in his *Diario Histórico*: "And, this whole Expedition which had been composed of more than ninety Men saw itself reduced to only Eight Soldiers and as many Marines in a state to attend to the safeguarding of the Barks, the working of the Launches, Custody of the Camp and service of the Sick" (Lummis).

In a conference between the *comandante*, Don Gaspar de Portolá, and Captain Don Vicente Vila, the heads of the expedition, it was agreed that the *San Antonio* must be sent south with some of the sick, as well as with reports from the *comandante* and the *padre presidente*, and also for the purpose of procuring sailors for both vessels, to replace those who had died. Accordingly, the *San Antonio* began her forlorn trip on July 9, manned by a small crew of convalescents, only five being sailors, and managed to reach San Blas, but, according to the records, "*sin gente para marear* [without people to navigate the ship]," nine persons having died on the voyage.

At San Diego, it was finally decided that the expedition to Monterey was to be undertaken, even though it, perforce, must be by land only, and not, as originally planned but now impossible, in connection with a division by sea. The expedition was to be under command of Don Gaspar de Portolá.

Those who were to be left at San Diego were: the *padre presidente*, Fray Junípero Serra; Captain Vila; Surgeon Prat; a guard of eight *soldados de cuera*; five able seamen; a few sick sailors; a blacksmith; eight Baja California neophytes; and three boy servants—almost forty persons in all.

VII

On July 14, 1769, after mass had been said in honor of San Buenaventura, the "Doctor Serafico" of the Franciscans, whose *fiesta* it was, and also a mass in honor of San José, by special proclamation of "His Most Illustrious Lordship, Don José de Gálvez," patron saint of the expedition, the advance to Monterey began.

Detailed to accompany the *comandante*, Don Gaspar de Portolá, were Fray Juan Crespí and Fray Francisco Gómez; Captain Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his sergeant, José Francisco de Ortega, and twenty-six *soldados de cuera*; *Alférez*—ensign, or sublieutenant—Don Miguel Costansó, engineer officer in the regular army, in whose charge were two books on which the party were to depend in locating the port of Monterey: the excellent manual of navigation of José González Cabrera Bueno, printed in Manila in 1734, and containing Padre Torquemada's account of the Vizcaíno voyage along the California coast in 1602-3; and *La Noticia de la California* of Venegas. In the party besides those already mentioned were the necessary number of *arrieros* and fifteen Christianized Indians, two neophytes from the Peninsula, and "the two servants of Portolá and Rivera" (Bancroft), variously given as, in all, from fifty-seven to sixty-four persons. Some of those included were scarcely convalescent.

In the formal departure from San Diego, the order of march, often varied because of the exigency of occasions, was about as follows: at the head rode Portolá, and with him were most of the officers, the little group of Catalan Volunteers, and some Indians with pioneering implements to open a way when necessary; then came the pack train

in four divisions, with *arrieros* and an *escolta*—guard; the *caballada* and *mulada*—the horse drove and the mule drove—for relays, were convoyed and the rear defended by the rest of the troops under Rivera.

Distance between watering places for the animals was a factor in determining the length of the *jornada*—day's journey—but, when possible, camp was made early in the afternoon. This gave time, in the long daylight of summer, for the pioneers to explore and for preparations for the next day's march to be made. Plans were often disarranged by having to go in search of animals, for sometimes no more than the whispering of the night wind through the trees, the stealthy movement of a *coyote* in the *chaparral*, the least unusual sound or odor, would throw the herd into a panic, causing a stampede and no end of trouble.

"Press on to Monterey," from the first the supreme objective, might well have been the slogan of the expedition. With the Portolá party, it was the dominant idea, and, notwithstanding the weakened condition of many, all were anxious to go forward as rapidly as circumstances would permit. About every four days, because of fatigue, a longer than ordinary halt was necessary; but, on the march, from two to four Spanish leagues a day were covered from the start.

Several diaries were kept; that of Fray Juan Crespí is still in existence. Yet, to the student eager to get in touch with California as they found it, with the object of the expedition in mind, what it meant: the Cross with the Sword behind it, conquest under the flag of Spain, they are disappointing. A feeling of impotence supervenes that nothing more can possibly be extracted from those pages that have come down the years, briefly outlining the day's march from point to point, and with little or nothing of interest, else. An ever increasing impatience is engendered at the paucity of expression called forth on the way northward through the glorious land, until one's thoughts revert

to the conditions under which the advance toward Monterey was undertaken, and then impatience is metamorphosed into gratitude to the writers, who, on the march, weary, and despite the daily struggle through a roadless, unknown land, patiently set down what they could!

Four or five days out from San Diego, a pleasant spot was reached, which, at that time, they named *San Juan Capistrano*. This must not be confounded with the place to which that name was afterward transferred, for here Mission San Luis Rey de Francia was founded in 1798.

On the 20th and 22d, two Indian children, one badly burned and both dying, were baptized, the first baptisms by the Franciscans in Alta California. The two friars were greatly encouraged, for thus the good work had begun.

Ten days out, on July 24, from a spot near where, later, rose in grace and beauty Mission San Juan Capistrano, they sighted the islands, named by Sebastián Vizcaíno, *San Clemente* and *Santa Catalina*.

In the daily jottings, much mention is made of flowers blossoming along the line of march—not blossoming by the roadside, for they, themselves, were the road makers, not only for the Spanish occupation of Nueva or Alta California, but road makers breaking a way for civilization, itself, to enter; and part of the way that they broke at that time became *El Camino Real*—The Royal Road—"The King's Highway."

There were not many Indians at this stage of the journey, but those they encountered were friendly, and hastened to tell the Spaniards the now timeworn tale that white men, accoutered as they were, were to be found inland!

On the 28th, they came to a river, which they dignified with a very long name, as was their way: *El Río del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus*—River of the Sweetest Name of Jesus. But, after a day of earthquakes, one shock being described by Portolá as "half the length of an *Ave María*," and, collectively, by Crespi as "*horrorosos temblores*," the

good *padres* reconsidered and further lengthened the name, naïvely adding "*de los temblores*." This river was the Santa Ana, which name they also bestowed at that time. It appears that the Indians were greatly frightened; and, to the Spaniards, they seemed to pray "to the four winds of heaven" for relief. Might it not have been to the gods of the four corners of the earth which they were inconsiderately tilting? Notwithstanding the "*temblores*," they found the vicinity attractive and full of possibilities for a mission; but, eventually, the mission then discussed, San Gabriel Arcángel, was permanently located at a spot some leagues distant.

On the 1st of August, they came upon another river, and another long name resulted: *El Río de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula*—River of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciúncula. Says Padre Crespi: "We rested here on August 1st in order that the surrounding country might be explored, but above all, in order to gain the jubilee indulgence of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciúncula. We both priests celebrated holy Mass; the men received holy Communion and performed what was required to gain the indulgence" (Engelhardt).

This, the great indulgence of the Franciscans, is sometimes called the "Grand Pardon of Assisi," for, from the afternoon of August 1 until sunset of August 2, "Whoso . . . receives the sacrament in the church of Porciúncula is granted plenary remission of his sins in this world and the next" (Eldredge). Originally granted only to those visiting the chapel in Italy, the privilege of the indulgence was extended to accompany a follower of St. Francis, so that: "It is enough for him to erect an altar and that altar will be to him St. Mary of the Angels" (*ibid.*).

This tiny chapel, in which angels had been heard to sing—and hence the name—was a gift to St. Francis from a Benedictine abbot. It was his favorite retreat, and the cradle of the Franciscan order.

This is the origin of the name of the city of Los Angeles, the name of the river repeated, yet varied to become: *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de los Angeles*—The Town of Our Lady the Queen of the Angels.

The course of the river was then followed into a great valley, which they named *Valle Santa Catalina de los Encinos*. This is the San Fernando Valley, so-called from the mission built there in 1797, named in honor of *San Fernando Rey de España*—St. Ferdinand, King of Spain—companion to that founded farther south the following year, of which mention has been made, San Luis Rey de Francia. Here in this wonderful valley more earthquakes were felt, which the friars took to indicate volcanoes near by, especially as they had passed springs of brea. But Portolá, in his diary, questions “‘whether this substance, which flows melted from underneath the earth, could occasion so many earthquakes’” (Eldredge).

The difficult ascent of the Santa Susana Mountains was next accomplished; but the descent was found so much more difficult that, dismounting, the men made their way on foot down to the river, the Santa Clara, following its course to the sea. There they found *El Pueblo de las Canoas*—the Town of the Canoes—of Cabrillo; the large villages of the coast Channel Indians, practically unchanged; the same spherical houses thatched with straw; the large canoes; the Indians of a better type, taller and more intelligent, the men fishermen, and the women weavers of *coras*—grass baskets; all just as it had been two hundred and twenty-seven years before. They saw a few old sword blades and knives, treasured by the natives, mute evidence of those who erstwhile had passed that way. Near this village, Mission San Buenaventura was founded in 1782, where the town of Ventura now is,—the “intermediate mission” of the three planned in 1768-9; that in which Don José de

Gálvez had so personally interested himself, even to packing furnishings for it with his own hands.

Following the coast, the expedition passed where the town and mission of Santa Bárbara now are. In that vicinity, some strange cemeteries were noticed, those for men and women being entirely separate. Painted poles marked the graves of both. Those over the men were surmounted by tufts of their hair, while the poles over the women were adorned with *coras*—the work of their hands, testifying to their skill.

At a place named by the friars *San Luis*, a gull was killed. The spot was renamed by the soldiers, and became *La Gaviota*—the Sea Gull.

On the 30th of August, they crossed the mouth of a large stream, dry shod, by means of a sandbar in lieu of a bridge; this, the Río de Santa Rosa, became the Santa Inés River, from the Mission Santa Inés, established on its banks in 1804.

A spur of the mountains, Point Sal, now turned the expedition inland through a little pass, camp being made beside a small lake to which half a dozen different names were given, each because of the special point of view of the donors. To Costansó, officer of engineers, cosmographer, cartographer, topographer, the shape, the lake being very nearly circular, suggests the name: *Laguna Redonda*—Round Lake—it was to him. Padre Crespi, probably with their own trials in mind, bestows the names of two martyrs. Because of the many snakes thereabouts, some of the others decide *Real de las Víboras*—Camp of the Snakes—appropriate. But, at this place, a bear was killed, so disappointingly lean that its lack of succulency was not overlooked by hungry men who had had visions of juicy bear meat. This camp was dubbed by the soldiers *El Oso Flaco*—The Thin Bear—and this name, out of all conferred, endured; for the lake “is still known by that name” (Eldredge). *El oso*

flaco, whose shortcomings have been so slightlyly perpetuated—if not some other *oso* and just a case of mistaken identity—is not recognizable in the bruin described by Miguel Costansó in his *Diary*: “September 2.—In the afternoon, as they had seen many tracks of bears, six soldiers went out hunting on horseback, and succeeded in shooting one. It was an enormous animal: it measured fourteen palmos [about ten feet] from the sole of its feet to the top of its head; its feet were more than a foot long; and it must have weighed over 375 pounds [15 arrobas]. We ate of the flesh and found it savory and good” (Teggart).

Villages were still found along the line of march, but not so many as farther south. At a *ranchería* near one camp was an Indian afflicted with some sort of pendulous protuberance about his neck—possibly a goiter—nicknamed by the soldiers “*El Buchón*.” From this we have both Point and Mount Buchón. This word does not appear in modern Spanish dictionaries, but seems to be derived from the word *buche*—a craw or crop—which graphically coincides with the condition as described.

Proceeding through San Luis Cañon, they pitched camp near the site of the present city of San Luis Obispo, where, a few years later, Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa was founded. Here they turned and camped in La Cañada de los Osos—Bear Valley—and many bears there were. In the words of the old nursery tale, there were “big bears, middle-sized bears, and little wee-wee bears.” They were all there, whole families living undisturbed for generations; for, besides having no weapons with which to wage war against big game, a superstition, preventing the killing of bears, existed among these Indians.

A bear hunt was organized, and one was killed and eaten. He died hard. According to one of the diaries, nine shots were required to put an end to him. Another one, shot but not killed, wounded two mules and escaped. In the *mêlée*, one of the soldiers had a narrow escape, and almost

paid for his sport with his life. No information is furnished as to what kind of bears they were: *osos*, just bears. Crespí, whose adjectives always help out the story and adorn the tale, says they were "*ferocísimos brutos*," which seems to spell "grizzlies."

It is interesting to note what they thought they knew of this coast, which they hugged so tenaciously. In Costansó's *Diario Histórico*, we find: "By the name of Exterior or Occidental [Coasts] of California are known those Coasts of North America which bound [*registran*] the Asiatic Ocean, or be it, [the] Sea of the South, and ramble along its waters the long space of more than 500 Maritime leagues between Cape San Lucas in 22 degrees and 48 minutes [North] Latitude, and the Rio de los Reyes in 43 degrees" (Lummis).

Nothing at all was known of the inland topography, and so they turned once more toward the coast. The line of march from this point should not have been toward the sea, but had this been known to them we should not have had the story of what followed this mistake.

The coast was now followed for ten leagues "until their path seemed closed by a spur terminating in Mount Mars, which rises three thousand feet almost perpendicularly from the sea" (Eldredge).

On the 13th of September, they encamped in a little *cañada* at the foot of the *Sierra de Santa Lucía*, so named by Vizcaíno: Cabrillo's *Sierra de San Martín*. Explorers were sent out under Rivera y Moncada to find a way through the mountains. It became a question of crowbars and pickaxes, and for two days the pioneers labored to open a way.

With so many sick, the ascent was very difficult, struggling upward, as they themselves put it, "*con el credo en la boca*," which being interpreted—not translated—may be taken to mean: "with their hearts in their mouths," and in fear of death every moment; only to find, when the ascent

was accomplished, a perilous descent and still more mountains to conquer. One league a day under these conditions was thought very good progress.

They rested in a little basin, La Hoya de Santa Lucía, near the headwaters of the Río San Antonio, in which vicinity, only two years later, one of the most prosperous missions established in Alta California was founded: Mission San Antonio de Padua.

On the 20th, they broke camp and again struggled with ascents steep and dangerous, and descents equally or more so, and on through a deep and narrow gorge, in which flowed a stream of ice-cold mountain water. Another climb brought them to the top of the ridge, where they were able to see the whole *sierra* in every direction. Before them, tier on tier of mountains presented the same difficulties they had already encountered, or new problems to solve. To Padre Juan Crespi, " 'This was a sad spectacle for poor wanderers, tired and exhausted from the hardships of such a march full of obstacles, which required the filling up of marshes, the opening up of roads through mountains and forests, sand dunes and swamps' " (Engelhardt).

With the waning of summer in this more northern latitude, the cold in the mountains began to be keenly felt by the sick, many of them being unable to walk; and all were utterly exhausted. The expedition halted in a little mountain valley, and there they rested for four days before beginning the descent on the north side of the range. From some fancied resemblance, in the rock formation, to wounds, this place was named by Crespi *Las Llagas de San Francisco*—The Wounds of St. Francis.

The descent made at last, on the 25th they came upon a river, the Salinas, naming it *El Río San Elizario*, down which they marched, and on September 30, after their strenuous detour, they were again at the coast. The supposition gradually taking shape that this river might be Vizcaino's *Río Carmelo*—Carmel River—was the pro-

toplasm of much that followed. Starting with this incorrect hypothesis, bearings began to be lost; points which had been easily recognized at first mystified them by being in the wrong places; until, becoming hopelessly bewildered, they finally failed to recognize anything.

On October 1, Portolá, Costansó, Crespí, and five soldiers climbed a high hill, and Crespí tells us the result: " ' . . . from the top . . . we saw the great entrance, and conjectured that it was the one which Cabrera Bueno puts between Point Año Nuevo and Point Pinos of Monterey.' " On the other hand, Rivera, taking with him eight men, explored southward along the shore, toward Punta de los Pinos—Point of Pines—and over to what is described as: " ' a small bight formed between the said point and another south of it, with an arroyo . . . and some little lagoons of slight extent.' " Says Bancroft: "The places thus explored are Carmelo bay, river, and point; nevertheless Rivera returns to camp saying that no port is to be found."

The latitude of the bay of Monterey, as given by Cabrera Bueno, is 37° , and this assisted in bringing about the dilemma; for, by Costansó's reckoning, $36^{\circ}, 20'$, they are not quite far enough north. The march northward was not resumed, however, without due consideration.

After mass, celebrated in a brushwood hut, at the mouth of El Río San Elizario, on October 4, a council of officers and friars was held. Governor Portolá, the *comandante*, was the first to speak, and, among other things, declared that what should have been a port was only a little *ensenada*, and what should have been great lakes were *lagunillas*. Then Costansó was called upon, his opinion being that they had not yet reached the latitude of Monterey, and that the expedition ought to proceed to at least $37^{\circ}, 30'$, either to locate the port or definitely to prove its nonexistence. Fages now spoke, and agreed in substance with Costansó, and that, whatever the outcome, the port had assuredly

not been passed. Then came Rivera, the pessimistic, who did not think Monterey would be found; but, as they should have to establish themselves somewhere, and, decidedly, not where they were, he advised going on.

After the whole subject had been thoroughly discussed, Governor Portolá proposed that, after a short rest, the expedition should proceed, and, further, that as Monterey had not been found where it was supposed to be, if, after proceeding as far as possible, it still should not have been located, then another place suitable for settlement was to be selected. This was unanimously agreed to, put in writing and signed by all. (Drawn from Engelhardt.)

Heavy responsibilities weighed upon the leaders in their further quest of Monterey. At the time of the conference of the officers and friars; at the time the unanimous decision was reached to again "press on to Monterey," they well knew that, with an eighty-two days' march between them and their base of supplies, and with that strenuous journey vividly fresh in their minds, provisions were giving out and but eighty *costales* of flour remained.

Sergeant Ortega with a few men set out on October 6; and on the 7th the advance of the whole expedition was resumed. Seventeen men were now on the sick list, and on the day they broke camp eleven had to be carried on litters. Sergeant Ortega, later, gave a few details in a *fragmento*, as to just what that really meant. "He says 16 lost the use of their limbs. Each night they were rubbed with oil and each morning were fastened to the *tijeras*, a kind of wooden frame, and raised to the backs of the mules." Truly, they did not lack courage, these "road makers."

From the seashore, they now turned inland for a time, crossing a river duly presented with the name of a saint by Crespí. It was given another by the soldiers, as was so often the case: *El Río del Pájaro*, because of a great bird—perhaps a royal eagle—that the Indians had killed and stuffed with dry grass, which measured eleven *palmos*—

seven feet and four inches—from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other.

Moving onward toward what is now Soquel, these tired wayfarers paused amazed before Sequoias, rising heavenward like the columns of a great cathedral,—for their eyes had not looked upon the like before. The keepers of the journals grew more communicative; they had come upon something worthy of their pens. Fages writes: “ ‘Here are trees of girth so great that eight men placed side by side with extended arms are unable to embrace them.’ ” Of these great trees of the foggy coast region of California north of the southern limits of Monterey County, *Sequoias sempervirens*, Costansó says in his *Diary*: “They were the largest, highest, and straightest trees that we had seen up to that time; some of them were four or five yards in diameter.” Good Padre Juan, who knows of nothing with which to liken these wonders of the world of nature, with more than his usual loquacity, but fewer of his delightful superlatives, seeks only to say what they do not resemble: “ ‘We came (October 10) on some tall trees of reddish-colored wood of a species unknown to us, having leaves very unlike those of the Cedar, and without a cedar odor; and as we knew not the names of the trees, we gave them that of the color of the wood, *palo colorado* (red wood).’ ”

And thus the tree was named.

VIII

After the departure of the Portolá expedition on July 14, those left at San Diego began active preparations for "the spreading of the Faith" among the heathen.

For the founding of the mission, the next day but one was selected, July 16, the day the Catholic Church in Spain commemorates the triumph in the year 1212 of the Cross over the Crescent. A cross was raised facing the port, after it had been blessed by the *padre presidente*, who also sang the high mass celebrated afterward.

At last the great day had come and gone; and the first mission to be established by the Franciscans in Alta California, Mission San Diego de Alcalá, had been finally founded.

Indians hung about the camp, eager for the little gifts so often forthcoming, but still refusing food of any kind, as they had from the first; and, also as they had from the first, stealing anything else they could lay hands on.

Growing rapidly more daring and their cupidity at last outweighing their fear of the firearms of the Spaniards, which, in their ignorance, had been little at any time, armed with clubs, bows, and arrows, they boldly made a vicious attack on the camp on August 12, continuing it on the 13th.

On the 15th, the *fiesta* of the Assumption, when only four soldiers were in camp, and just as the *padre presidente* was concluding mass, they again arrived in large numbers, prepared to do battle and carry out their original intention of killing every one and possessing themselves of all the intensely coveted articles. Before they could be repulsed, a servant of Padre Vizcaíno was mortally wounded, and

the *padre* himself struck in the hand by an arrow. After they were again fired upon, they withdrew, taking their wounded with them; but after several days, they brought them back begging treatment for them, which, it is needless to say, they received.

After the attitude of the natives toward them had thus been clearly demonstrated, an *estacada*—stockade—was thrown about the entire camp, and no Indians who were armed were permitted to enter the mission enclosure. They still hung about, but for reasons having no connection with the desire of the *padres* for their presence; nor did they manifest any inclination to be enlightened in regard to it. Their souls' salvation interested them not at all. Curiosity possessed them for one thing, the insatiable desire for gifts for another, and the ever present impulse to steal whatever they could.

One youth, about fifteen years of age, had picked up a little Spanish, and seeing in this the most available opportunity for inserting a wedge for a real beginning in the "spreading of the Faith," the *padres* used him as their emissary, and through him made an alluring offer to the other Indians, saying that if they would send a child to be brought up by them at the mission, not only would he be made a son of the Church and a Christian, but that he would be adopted by the soldiers as a relative, and would be dressed like them in fine clothes. To the great delight of Serra, this offer was accepted.

In due time, an Indian with an infant in his arms arrived, followed by troops of the *gentilidad*. Remembering their intense delight in such things, and wishing to give unmistakable evidence of his appreciation of their response to the offer made them, Serra threw a piece of beautiful material over the child as a prelude to baptism. Godfathers were selected from among his to-be relatives, the soldiers, and the ceremony began. All was going happily and to the satisfaction of the friars, until the holy water was to be

applied, when, suddenly, the Indians seemed to be filled with consternation, and, seizing the infant, they incontinently fled, leaving the astonished *padre presidente* with the shell of holy water suspended in mid-air.

The seeming wanton impiety of the act and the disrespect to Fray Junípero filled the Spaniards with indignation, but Serra would allow no punishment to be meted out to them. Keenly disappointed, he ascribed the failure to some of his own sins.

On the 15th, after a long halt because of the serious condition of the sick, the Portolá expedition marched. On the 17th, a river was crossed and named *San Lorenzo*. On the 20th, halt was made on the beach at the entrance to a cañon, and again the expedition rested. On the afternoon and night of the 21st, rain fell. All were wet and miserable—there were no tents—but the sick were not in so much pain, and for that reason, although Crespí had named the place *San Luis Beltran*, the soldiers called it *La Cañada de la Salud*. Not far away, west by north, estimated by Crespí as one league from camp, a low-lying rocky tongue of land, scarcely showing above the water, was observed. On the 23d, camp was moved two leagues farther on. Under that date in the *Diary of Miguel Costansó*, we find: "*Note: The point of rocks which we left behind is that known as the Punta de Año Nuevo. Its latitude is, with a slight difference, the same as that of the Cañada de la Salud*" (Teggart).

Provisions were now at so low an ebb that rations had been reduced to five *tortillas* a day, made of bran and flour; there had been no meat for a long time, and of vegetables there were none.

With the coming of the rainy season, new maladies developed; but, to the surprise of all, those suffering from scurvy, their steady *compagnon du voyage*, grew rapidly better. Rivera was among those tortured by that disease, while

Portolá was now seized with one of the ailments which were finally to relieve them of it.

Short halts were made to ease the sick, but, as though driven by some unseen force, on and still on they went—sick and well together—these crusaders of the *expedición santa*. Ill, half starved, but still undaunted, they pressed on in their quest of Monterey, which *famoso puerto* was now far behind.

Descending into a little valley through which a stream ran to the sea, a *rincon*—inside corner—in the cliffs, protected from the winds, they encamped, and feasted to their fill on mussels and other shellfish, while the pioneers broke a way up the wall of rock impeding their farther advance. While Crespí, in gratitude, named this little haven *La Punta del Ángel Custodio*—Point Guardian Angel—others, less spiritual, called it: *La Punta ó Rincon de las Almejas*—Mussel Point.

Once a way was cleared, all who were strong enough followed the pioneers to the top of the cliff. From the promontory on which they stood, the coast line was bleak and precipitous. Distant white cliffs were perceived, and, beyond, was what seemed to be the mouth of an inlet. Looking out over the water, across what appeared to be a bight, they saw, far to the northwest, a high point extending into the sea.

These landmarks were recognized immediately. The distant point could not but be Vizcaíno's *Punta de los Reyes*; and under and back of it must be Cermenho's *Bahía de San Francisco*, so clearly drawn by Cabrera Bueno.

When the three missions for Alta California had been named, noting the omission, Serra had asked, " 'and is there to be no mission for our Father San Francisco?' " To this, Gálvez had replied, " 'If San Francisco wants a mission, let him cause his port to be discovered, and it will be placed there' " (Engelhardt from Palou). To them, this answer was full of significance and they were fully convinced that

the port of Monterey had been miraculously hidden from their eyes, so that St. Francis might the better call their attention to his own port. But San Francisco's port was never established there.

The way up the coast was resumed, the next camp being in San Pedro Valley.

There were still those who doubted that Monterey had been passed, and a party was, therefore, detailed to proceed as far as Point Reyes, with Sergeant Ortega in charge. Taking provisions for three days, they set out.

During the absence of Ortega, a party of soldiers, while hunting deer, climbed the northeastern hills. From the summit, they saw that which sent them back to camp with a report that created no little excitement; for they had seen stretched out before them a vast sheet of water, spreading both northward and southeastward, as far as their eyes could see. From where they stood, no entrance running in from the ocean had been observed, but those in camp agreed with the discoverers that this must be the *estero* described by Cabrera Bueno "as entering the land from the port of San Francisco under Point Reyes" (Bancroft).

This revelation was not destined, however, to become even a "seven days' wonder," and the matter of the great inland sea, the excitement of the day before, was relegated to the background, for the returning Ortega party brought news that was of much greater immediate and material importance. Coming upon a *brazo de mar*—an arm of the sea—lying directly across his path, Ortega had seen at once that, as the expedition had no boats, it was not possible to reach Cermenho's *Bay of San Francisco* without a detour of indefinite length, taking a longer time than the three days allotted them for their reconnaissance. But this was of no more importance than the great inland sea now was, compared with the information communicated to Ortega during a parley with the Indians, in the usual "sign

language": that at the head of the *estero* at that moment, and at no very great distance from where they then were, floated a ship at anchor. They hailed this as news of the *San José*, the supply ship which the *visitador* was to despatch immediately after the *San Antonio*.

With this sudden vision of the possibility of food in plenty within a short march, the idea that it was in fact the *San José* obsessed them. Moreover, the bay of Monterey might be in the immediate vicinity, and the *San José*, laden with all they so sadly needed, rocking peacefully on the waters of the "*famoso puerto*" itself! There seemed but one thing to do—and they did it—break camp and go in search of the *San José* and food!

The failure of the early explorers to find their way from the ocean into and through the entrance to the harbor, which, of necessity, to those especially seeking it would have suggested that mysterious, evasive, northwest passage, the Strait of Anián, has been much commented upon. But there were not so many of those early explorers. Invoking the process of elimination, casting into the discard those who are doubtful or unworthy of credence, we have only two expeditions sent out from New Spain for special exploration on the northwest coast of the Californias: the Navidad expedition, in 1542, under Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo; and, after an interval of sixty years, the Vizcaíno expedition in 1602. Thirty-six years after Cabrillo, we find Drake sojourning on the California coast not very far north of the Golden Gate, putting his vessel, the *Golden Hind*, alias the *Pelican*, in order for the homeward voyage. In the fantastic tales which have come down to us, based upon Fletcher's notes, no mention is made of the great harbor. It must be remembered that this expedition was a private enterprise, and had not been, openly, officially despatched for exploration on this coast, as had the two from New Spain already mentioned. It was, however, for

reasons of its own, and, incidentally, for England, seeking the northwest passage.

There were two more of the oft spoken of early explorers, both commanding vessels engaged in the Philippine trade, both instructed to investigate the coast of the Californias for a harbor suitable for a refitting station for those vessels: Gali, who inadvertently made the acquaintance of the Japan Current; and Cermenho, whose vessel, the *San Agustín*, was wrecked in the harbor which he named *La Bahía de San Francisco*.

Galleons returning from Manila skirted almost the entire length of the California coast, touching occasionally, but bent on business of their own: the delivery of their valuable cargoes at Acapulco. There was, in connection, a passenger service. On the 1697-98 voyage from Manila to Acapulco, the Italian, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, on a journey around the world, was a passenger. He wrote very fully; and, as described by him, conditions on board were loathsome in the extreme and the trip was a frightful experience, lasting more than seven months.

With a free hand, in her *California: An Intimate History*, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton deals with the nondiscovery in rather a striking way; interesting and, except as to time, a matter of some thousands of years, relatively—in eternity—nothing at all, is not greatly at variance with theories advanced by geologists. This is the story as she tells it: "When Gaspar de Portolá discovered the Bay of San Francisco in 1769 he found the surrounding country inhabited by Indians whose ancestors had dwelt on the peninsula and among the Marin hills ever since that uneasy coast had been hospitable to man. From them he heard the tradition that some two hundred years earlier the space covered by the great inland sheet of water had been a valley, fertile and beautiful, broken by hills and watered by two rivers that rose in the far north and found their outlet to the sea through Lake Merced. Then came a mighty earthquake,

the valley sank, the hills of the coast were rent apart, the salt waters rushed in and covered not only the sunken valley floor, but all save the tips of its hills. . . . Only the end of the fertile Central Valley was gone, and in its place the Pacific coast had been presented with one of the three great harbors of the world."

There was such a tradition among the Indians, referred to by Padre Payéras many years after the Portolá expedition; and the mapping done by the unfortunate cartographer of the Vizcaíno voyage gives no hint of an opening in the coast line at that place; but to one familiar with the region thereabouts, and with certain climatic conditions that prevail at times, when rivers of fog flowing in from the ocean fill every channel, obliterating indentations and landmarks, rendering the shore unrecognizable even to modern navigators with exact charts spread out before them, no convulsion of nature need be invoked by way of explanation of the failure of those five early explorers to observe and penetrate that cleft in the cliffs, the narrow entrance to the port, before which, at times, a portcullis of fog is dropped, where it hangs unlifted for days—a curtain, impenetrable to the eye.

It is often asserted that no name was given this great expanse of water by the Portolá party. If that be true, it was certainly contrary to the custom of the *expedición santa*, which could not be accused of niggardliness in the bestowal of names. It is very certain that any spot having the slightest claim to one got it. Therefore, the idea that this inland sea should alone be neglected and left nameless for years is preposterous. It is more probable, from the Costansó diary, and also from an entry made at a later period, in the diary of Don Pedro Fages, that they were under the impression that it had already been named by Cermenho. In a note given by Richman, the reference in the Costansó diary reads as follows: "We were more and more confirmed in our opinion that we were in the puerto de San Francisco

and that this [the *estero*] was that spoken of by the *piloto* Cabrera Bueno in the following words: 'By the gorge enters an *estero* of salt water without surf.' " The Fages entry speaks of "the great mouth of the *Estero de San Francisco*, parallel to the *Ensenada de la Punta de los Reyes*, in front of which were the seven *farallones*, that in the year 1769, we saw when we encamped near." Furthermore, it is mentioned by both Crespí and Portolá, in letters quoted later in these pages.

Crossing the hills, a *cañada* was followed to a spot west of where Millbrae now is; the next day, a turn to the south was made. On the 6th, camp was pitched on "San Francisquito Creek in the vicinity of Searsville" (Bancroft).

Sergeant Ortega, with eight men, then went in search of the vessel reported by the Indians as lying at anchor at the head of the *estero*; but, when the head of the estuary was reached, no vessel of any kind cheered their eyes, and, upon his return to camp, Ortega's report blasted all hopes of the arrival of the *San José*. They then determined to search no farther for Monterey, but to return to San Diego as speedily as possible.

On November 11, the return march was begun. The 28th found them again at Carmelo, where it was decided that it was impossible to follow the coast southward from that point. Snow covered the hills and the cold was very penetrating. There was no game, no fish; and provisions were almost gone.

A great cross was raised and on it was carved: "'Dig at the foot and thou wilt find a writing'" (Bancroft). A letter put in a bottle and buried at the foot was addressed to the commander of any vessel, and requested him to endeavor to communicate with the land expedition then moving southward. Crespí included a copy in his diary, and added: "'Glory be to God, the cross was erected on a little hillock . . . and at its foot we buried the letter'" (Engelhardt).

Crossing the peninsula to the still unrecognized bay of Monterey, another cross was raised on the shore, on which they inscribed: " 'The overland expedition from San Diego returned from this place . . . starving' " (*ibid.*).

On the 11th, they were fairly on their way; and, again, had missed the objective of the entire expedition, for Monterey, the *famoso puerto*, had not been located. Referring to this, Crespi, always interesting, but evidently at this time worn, weary, disappointed, and, in consequence, a little peevish, writes: " 'In view . . . of our not finding in these regions the port of Monterey so celebrated and so praised in their time by men of character, skilful, intelligent, and practical navigators who came expressly to explore these coasts by order of the king . . . we have to say that it is not found after the most careful efforts made at cost of much sweat and fatigue; . . . no such port has been found . . . At Pt. Pinos there is no port, nor have we seen in all our journey a country more desolate than this, or people more rude, Sebastian Vizcaino to the contrary notwithstanding . . . although this was easier to be misrepresented than a port so famous as was Monterey in former centuries' " (Bancroft, note).

With trifling exceptions, the expedition returned to San Diego over its northward line of march. The return was accomplished with less discomfort, the general health of the party was infinitely better, and, as there was now grass in abundance, the condition of the animals had improved. While at first there was little to eat, more food was to be had later on, albeit by bartering their clothes with the natives for game and fish, until, it is true, they had but little left with which to cover themselves! But, even so, they were obliged to eat twelve of their mules during the journey to keep from starving.

Exactly what that experience meant to Governor Portolá is found in a statement he is reported as having made in a conversation with a friend several years later, as recorded

by Juan Manuel de Viniegra and reproduced by Chapman: " 'In order that we might not die . . . I ordered that at the end of each day's march, one of the weak old mules . . . should be killed. The flesh we roasted . . . in a hole in the ground. The mule being thus prepared, without a grain of salt or other seasoning—for we had none—we shut our eyes and fell to on that scaly mule (what misery!) like hungry lions. . . . At last we entered San Diego, smelling frightfully of mules.' " This was on January 24, 1770.

It is truly remarkable that with all the illness, privations, and dangers through which they had passed, all those who had gone forth on July 14 returned. Not one death had occurred.

When nearing the mission founded two days after their departure more than six months before, they announced their approach with a discharge of musketry. Following rejoicings over their safe return, a full account had to be given to those who had been left behind of all that had been seen and done by those who had made the journey. Surprise that Monterey had not been found knew no bounds. Both Serra and Vila were convinced that the explorers had actually been to Monterey, but for some inexplicable reason had failed to recognize it. The greeting to Portolá upon his return, credited to Serra, connotes this: " 'You come from Rome without having seen the pope' " (*ibid.*).

In the various diaries are various reasons, as well as various excuses, for the failure to locate the port at that time. According to Padre Palou, Crespi wrote him that he feared the port had been filled up. Serra, in one of his letters, referred to this theory based on the great sand dunes found by the Portolá party where the port should have been. Fages lays it to discrepancies in latitude, for one thing, saying: " 'We knew not if the place where we were was that of our destination . . . for after having taken the latitude, we found that we were only in 36°, 44',

while, according to the reports of . . . Cabrera Bueno, Monterey should be in 37°, and so serious an error was not supposable on the part of a man of well known skill' " (Bancroft, note).

We have heard much of the peaceful conquest of California by Spain. In fact, there are many, ignorant alike of the regular second phase of Spanish conquest, in which spiritual and military occupation advanced side by side—missions and *presidios*, the Cross with the Sword behind it, conquest under the flag of Spain, and of the many revolutions of the wheels of state, necessary before the order had been forthcoming "to occupy and fortify San Diego and Monterey," who have no mental vision more definite than of Fray Junípero Serra, staff in hand, alone, perhaps, or with a group of Franciscan friars in attendance, wandering into Alta California from somewhere, converting the Indians, who fall on their knees before them, eager to receive holy baptism, and who with the help of these deeply religious converts, build missions, and, adding to the abundance already on all sides in this new land "flowing with milk and honey," plant vines and fig trees, pomegranates and olives!

Far from being a peaceful progress of gentle friars up through a flower-decked land, surrounded by bands of adoring natives, on every journey they were accompanied by *soldados de cuera* to protect them from the Indians, who, although without firearms, had bows and arrows, and while not so warlike as the Apaches, Seris, and other tribes, were still savages and an ever present danger.

There was illness to be met and the ravages of disease; there was starvation, for they were far distant from a base of supply; and, although, undeniably, possession was not secured through the supreme sacrifice on the field of battle accompanied by the death song of shot and shell, possession was neither easily gained nor held!

IX

Upon the return of the Portolá expedition after an absence of more than six months, the *San Carlos* was still tied up to her moorings. The *San Antonio*, despatched to Mexico before their departure, had not yet returned; nor had the *San José* put in an appearance. Provisions at the camp were running low, and, daily and anxiously, the horizon was scanned in the hope that one or the other, or both, might be seen in the offing.

This is the story of the *San José*: After the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* had been despatched, Don José de Gálvez turned his attention to the *San José*, and she was sent to La Paz for repairs. From there, she crossed the gulf, returning to Loreto with a cargo of supplies. That seems to have been the last thing successfully accomplished. After that, all was lucklessness and disaster. Setting sail from Loreto in June for San Diego, she was to have touched at San José del Cabo, but did not. Three months later, she was back at Loreto with a broken mast, crossing from there to San Blas for further repairs, from which place, with a crew for the *San Carlos* on board, seaworthy, early the following spring, she departed for San Diego, and was never heard of again.

With no certain prospect of the arrival of any vessel with supplies, the gravity of the situation bore heavily upon Portolá, the *comandante*, upon whom, alone, rested the responsibility for the welfare of the personnel of the expedition, in so far as it was humanly possible to safeguard it under existing conditions. He therefore ordered an inventory of all stores then on hand, in order to ascertain

how long their stay might be prolonged without too great danger, while still waiting for coöperation from the far-off base of supplies. After setting aside enough for rations on their retreat from San Diego, should no succor come to them and they, in consequence, be routed by danger of actual starvation from their lately acquired foothold in California, it was determined after careful calculation that, with rigid conservation, food enough remained to carry them through from that date, January 28, to the middle of March.

Captain Rivera was detailed to return to Velicatá and bring to San Diego the cattle left there at the time the expedition was on its way to Alta California, and was also instructed to gather up, besides, such supplies as he could. Even should the *San Antonio* and the *San José* both arrive with provisions, such things as he might be able to secure could be stored for future use. In the event of the non-arrival of at least one of these vessels and should withdrawal from San Diego become absolutely necessary before his return, then he would be met on his way north by the expedition on its way south.

In a letter to the *visitador*, Don José de Gálvez, dated February 8, 1770, Don Pedro Fages writes that " 'there are left 60 men to be fed, including 4 padres and 8 seamen with Vila.' From this force '28 men are to go to Velicatá to lighten the burden on the commissary' " (Richman from Palou). On February 11, Rivera started on his mission to Baja California.

In accounts of the various conferences, hot disputes are hinted at and there were still many differences of opinion as to the existence of the port of Monterey. A letter dated February 9, from Padre Juan Crespí to the *visitador*, says: " 'I am not at all chagrined that we failed to hit upon the port of Monte Rey; . . . and if in time we still fail of it, we possess of a certainty and as an actuality the Port

of San Francisco.' ” Don Gaspar de Portolá, in a letter dated February 11, to Viceroy de Croix, goes much further, writing as follows: “ ‘To me there remains the consolation that by this expedition there has been lost nothing but our great labor in the six months and a half that it has consumed. Exploration has been carried to the very precincts of San Francisco. The spirit of the *gentilidad* has been tested. The infinity of the population of the Channel of Santa Bárbara has been made known. The illusion that Monterey exists has been dispelled’ ” (Richman). Portolá might be convinced of the nonexistence, and Crespí doubt, but not so Serra, who, although he had not made the trip, was firmly convinced to the contrary. To him Monterey was no illusion but very much of a reality.

While, after the departure of the Rivera contingent, there was less strain upon the commissary department, the middle of March was now approaching and provisions were very low.

There can be no doubt that after the return of Portolá from the north, the fate of “*la santa expedición*” hung by a very thin thread, and that the crucial moment upon which that fate depended had now arrived. It is evident that the *comandante* was fully alive to his responsibilities and would remain until the last moment consistent with safety, but no longer. His duty was clear: to save those under him, even though it meant, as a last resort, the retreat of the entire expedition from Alta California; and an order was issued by him, naming March 20 as the date on which active preparations for immediate departure from San Diego were to begin, provided—and the word is used advisedly—provided no supplies from anywhere arrived by that time.

Very different, indeed, from the difficulties confronted by the *comandante*, who, soldier that he was, shouldered his responsibility in his own way, was the position in which the *padre presidente* found himself, with the departure of the expedition a possibility, involving, as it did, a condition

which must be met by him alone! "It goes without saying" and is waste of words to say that the *padre presidente* met the situation uniquely confronting him equally as well as did the *comandante*—equally as well but no better—and in the only way it could have been consistently met by him, Serra: by announcing that should the entire expedition be forced to retire from Alta California, he would remain!

The mission system—which drew the heathen into a fold and, in addition to Christianizing them, taught them trades and many other things,—was not the only method employed in spreading the faith; it was simply one method of spreading it. Both before and after this time, Spanish missionaries, alone or by twos, sometimes went into the wilds and, living among the aborigines,—the reverse of the mission system,—made converts in that way. Had Serra remained alone and followed this course, and had he lost his life at the hands of the savages, he would have died as he longed to die and, as he believed, with eternal salvation his certain reward—a martyr to the faith. To hold the opportunity that now was his to save the souls of the heathen about him in such numbers, the work to which he had dedicated his life,—the realization of his great daydream,—no sacrifice was too great for him to make. And, further, to him, it was clearly his duty to remain! Loyal, tried, and not "found wanting," Fray Juan Crespí declared that he, too, would stay in the field and help garner the sheaves for the Church.

Says Hittell: ". . . Junípero next caused himself to be rowed out into the harbor to the San Carlos for the purpose of discussing the situation with Vicente Vila, its commander. He laid before that functionary the proposed abandonment and the causes which . . . induced the governor to contemplate such action. . . . he proposed that Vila, instead of immediately sailing for home, should take Crespí and

himself on board his vessel; run up the coast, and ascertain the truth as to the . . . filling up of the . . . port. Vila, interested as a navigator in the geographical question . . . agreed to the proposition; and Junípero returned to shore."

A *novena*—nine days of prayer—was begun, with the consent of the *comandante*. Prayers were the order of the day, prayers long and continuous with the friars, that the ships might arrive and the crisis be averted. And thus the matter stood.

March 19 was the *fiesta* of San José, patron of the expedition, and special masses were celebrated. Still no sign of the long-looked-for vessels gladdened their eyes.

March 20—that fateful day named by the *comandante*—was at hand. Late in the afternoon, in the light of the fading day, after sunset and before dusk, a sail was seen dimly outlined on the horizon! Straining their eyes, they saw it disappear in the northwest.

Whether Gaspar de Portolá beheld in the shadowy sail etched against the evening sky an omen for good and took heart of grace, who can say? But certain it is that with March 20 came no orders to break camp, nor on the next day, nor on the next after that.

Portolá and Serra, each as he saw his duty, had been to the fullest extent true to himself; but, as things turned out, there was to be no need of a parting of the ways, spiritual and temporal. For, on the twenty-third, a sail was again seen, coming from the opposite direction, and this time a turn was made and the vessel headed for the port.

The crisis was averted and the expedition saved. The vessel was the *San Antonio*.

The *San Antonio*, also often referred to as *El Príncipe*, had left San Diego eight months before, arriving at San Blas after a run of twenty days. Reports were then forwarded to the viceroy at Mexico City, and to the *visitador*,

Don José de Gálvez, who was at that time in the interior of Mexico, having left the Peninsula in May. Some time necessarily elapsed before replies were received, with orders to return to Alta California immediately after provisioning the ship, stowing the cargo, and procuring sailors. When all this had been accomplished, the return voyage was immediately begun.

The commander, Don Juan Pérez, was instructed not to stop at San Diego, but to proceed direct to Monterey. Following orders, the *San Antonio* passed San Diego on March 19, and this fully accounts for the "miraculous sail" seen on that day. Running in shore, somewhere near Santa Bárbara, to replenish the water casks, the Channel Indians informed them of the return southward of the Spaniards. This, with the loss of an anchor near Point Concepción, decided Pérez to turn about, disregarding orders, and make for San Diego.

The officers of the expedition were not filled with enthusiasm over Alta California as a Spanish outpost, in its isolated position much too far from any base of supplies, and with the penalty that must be paid for its possession in suffering and death; yet there is no justifiable reason apparent in branding, for all time, the commander in chief with the stigma of even an inclination toward dereliction of duty, as has been attempted with Don Gaspar de Portolá.

More than insinuation, a covert accusation is read in Hittell's *History of California*, as follows: "The arrival of the *San Antonio* with sailors and provisions and the evidence thereby afforded of the care and promptitude of the visitador-general completely changed the plans of Governor Portolá. He now plainly saw that the government was thoroughly in earnest in its intention of colonizing the country and ready to furnish all the support necessary for carrying its purpose into effect. He also saw that the eyes of his superiors were upon him and that any neglect of duty or remissness in what might reasonably be expected

of him would be dangerous. He therefore . . . determined to retrace his steps . . . and immediately renew his search for Monterey."

Another little fling is taken at this doughty captain of dragoons of the regular army of Spain, who was not wearing his first spurs by any means, but had served with credit in Portugal and Italy, as well as in the "New World," in Richman's *California under Spain and Mexico*, which reads: "The coming of the San Antonio, falling as it did on the day of St. Joseph, was taken for a strong omen by Portolá. It in fact quite roused his mind. Persuaded now that to fail in his undertaking would be disloyalty *á Dios, al Rey, a mi 'onor* [To God, to the King, to my honor], and remembering that on leaving the peninsula he had resolved 'to perform his commission or to die,' he took counsel with Pérez, with the result that on April 16 the San Antonio . . . was dispatched up the coast"

A fairer exposition of the situation—logical and without bias—is Dr. Chapman's in *The Founding of Spanish California*. He says: "A story has sprung up that Portolá might have abandoned Alta California but for Father Serra. The latter is said to have prevailed upon the commander to delay his departure, with the result that the *San Antonio* was sighted the very day before Portolá planned to leave. If this is true, then Serra is to be credited with having saved the Alta California establishments in their first hour of need. It seems probable, however, that this is an injustice to Portolá. There is no doubt that Serra wanted to stay, and that Portolá was not enthusiastic over the new country, but the commander in chief was a soldier whose every action in 1769-70 seems to show an intention to carry out his orders and hold the country to the last moment compatible with the safety of the forces under his command.

"In any event, what Serra and Vila or Portolá might have done is swallowed up in the fact that Portolá did remain. In fine, there seems to be no just reason for

depriving Portolá of the credit that by common consent is assigned to the commander of an enterprise, unless there are circumstances which compel a different attribution. Serra and others played their parts with abundant courage—their fame is secure—but to Portolá goes the credit for holding Alta California in 1770,—and indeed, the province was saved by a very narrow margin.” If it be a desire to add to the already ample and radiant glory of the *padre presidente*, Fray Junípero Serra, in claiming for him the prestige of saving, at this crucial time, all that had been won at such cost, then it is safe to say that he, Serra, in his humility, would have been the last to wish such a claim presented—even though it had been true.

After the arrival of the *San Antonio* at San Diego, preparations had been actively begun to go again in search of Monterey, not only by land but by sea also, as originally planned by Don José de Gálvez, with Point Pinos as the rendezvous for the two divisions.

Should Monterey not be found, then a *presidio* and a mission were to be established elsewhere. With this in view, Captain Juan Pérez of the *San Antonio*, who was to have charge of the search by sea, was instructed to proceed first to the *brazo de mar*—the arm of the sea—discovered by Sergeant Ortega the previous November, which widened out into the great inland sea seen by the Portolá party; and to make observations and surveys, before proceeding down the coast from there to Point Pinos. With him were to go Fray Junípero Serra, who had not been with the expedition northward the year before; and Surgeon Prat, who, at the time of the first attempt to locate the evasive port, had remained at the camp at San Diego to care for the sick; and with him, also, to make surveys, was Alférez Don Miguel Costansó of the first expedition.

On April 16, the *San Antonio* sailed, and on the 17th, the land division began its march, led, as before, by Don

Gaspar de Portolá; and, as before, with him went Fray Juan Crespi, *el teniente*—lieutenant—Don Pedro Fages with twelve of his Catalan Volunteers, seven regulars, five Christianized Indians, and two *arrieros*.

Sergeant José Francisco Ortega, the scout of the first expedition northward from San Diego, was left in charge of the camp there, its personnel greatly diminished by the absence of Captain Rivera y Moncada, Padre Vizcaíno, and many others on the mission to Velicatá. With Ortega were Padres Parron and Gómez, eight soldiers, and twelve neophytes; while on board the *San Carlos* were Captain Vicente Vila, his *piloto*, and twelve sailors.

The overland expedition up the coast reached Point Pinos on May 24. Crespi, Fages, and one soldier—some historians include Portolá—hastened to the cross which had been erected, and found not only the cross but a strange array of articles about it: feathers, arrows stuck in the ground, meat, shellfish, and a string of sardines, deposited there by the Indians, who, observing the reverence in which it was held by the Spaniards, had made propitiatory offerings to their gods.

As they looked out over the water, the bay seemed almost circular—almost like the letter O; whales were spouting quite close in shore, and near by, on the rocks and in the water, were many seals and sea lions. The day was clear and the world about them took on a new meaning, for with one voice they exclaimed, "This is the port of Monterey, which we seek; in form, exactly as described by Sebastián Vizcaíno and Cabrera Bueno: '*La grande ensenada . . . como una O*. [The great roadstead . . . like an O.]" The springs of fresh water were located; the great oak was identified, the tips of whose branches were washed by the sea, near which mass had been celebrated by the Carmelite friars, as described by Vizcaíno. Notwithstanding the theories they themselves had advanced, there was no evi-

dence that the port had been filled up by sand. In fact, with reorientation, there were apparently few changes since the discovery of *el famoso puerto* by Vizcaíno, in 1603.

A bay
Like an O—
For so
Cabrera Bueno said
Long, long ago;
And wrote of trees
Along the shore:
Oaks
Dipping low their branches
In the sea;
Pines,
Growing so strong and free,
Enough to mast the ships
For all the world.
And there they are to-day,
With cypresses gnarled and twisted—
Sisters to cedars of Lebanon
Far away,—
Wrapped all about
With wisps of clinging fog,
Indistinct,
Mystic,
Gray—
El famoso puerto de Monte Rey.

“ ‘The delight aroused in all,’ Fr. Crespí writes, ‘at finding themselves at last in the long-sought Port of Monterey is not easy to express in words’ ” (Engelhardt).

On May 31, the *San Antonio* dropped anchor in the bay, having encountered stormy weather after leaving San Diego, and having been driven as far south as latitude 30° and as far north as the Farallones. The mouth of the

estero had been reached but not entered; consequently, no surveys had been made. From that point, the *San Antonio* put about and made the port of Monterey seven days after the arrival there of the division by land.

To Serra, the port was at once and without doubt Vizcaíno's *Monte Rey*, and, without hesitation, he called it "*Este hermoso puerto de Monterey* [This fine port of Monterey]" (Palou).

Arrangements were now made to take formal possession in the name of "His Most Catholic Majesty, Don Carlos the Third, of Spain," and to found the Presidio of Monterey as well as the mission to be established under the title of *San Carlos de Borromeo* with San José as its principal patron. To the full extent permitted by their resources, both ceremonies were to be invested with all the dignity the occasion merited, for this was a consummation, a culmination of the effort on the part of Spain, since 1542, never lost sight of despite a long period of seeming lethargy.

Although ceremonies attendant upon the founding of this, Padre Presidente Serra's own mission, were practically the same as at all missions, a description in detail duly chronicled by his associate, Padre Crespí, is extant, and is as follows: "On the third day of June, 1770, Pentecost Sunday, when Commander Don Gaspar de Portolá with his officers, subalterns, soldiers and the rest of the land expedition, Don Juan Pérez, captain of the packet-boat *San Antonio*, with his sub-captain, Don Miguel del Pino, the whole crew and the rest of the sea expedition, and the Rev. Fr. Lector and Presidente of all the missions, Fr. Junípero Serra, with Fr. Juan Crespi, had assembled on the shore of the Port of Monterey, an enramada ["a brushwood shelter"] having been erected on the very spot and near the live-oak where in 1602 the Rev. Carmelite Fathers, who had come with the expedition of Comandante Sebastian Vizcaino, celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass,

the altar having been arranged and the bells suspended, the celebration began with the loud ringing of the bells.

“ ‘The said Fr. Presidente vested with alb and stole, all kneeling, then implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost (whose coming upon the small assembly of the apostles and disciples of the Lord the Universal Church celebrated that day), and sang the hymn of the day, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Thereupon he blessed water and with it the great cross, which had been constructed and which all helped to raise and place in position, and then venerated. He then sprinkled the whole surroundings and the shore with holy water in order to drive away all infernal enemies. Thereupon High Mass was commenced at the altar upon which stood the image of Our Lady, which, through the inspector-general, the Most Rev. Francisco de Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, had donated for the expedition to Monterey. This first holy Mass was sung by the said Fr. Presidente, who also preached after the Gospel, whilst repeated salutes from the cannons of the bark and volleys from the muskets and firearms supplied the lack of musical instruments. At the close of the holy Mass the *Salve Regina* was sung before the lovely statue of Our Lady, and then the whole ceremony concluded with the *Te Deum Laudamus*.’ ” This last was at the express request of Don José de Gálvez, who gave instructions that immediately after the formal occupation of Monterey, a report of the proceedings should be forwarded, and, wherever the glad tidings were received, the singing of *Te Deum Laudamus* was to be repeated.

“ ‘When this function of the Church was finished,’ the good Father continues, ‘the commander took formal possession . . . in the name of our King, Don Carlos III (whom God preserve), by raising anew the royal standard which had already been unfolded after the erection of the cross. Then followed the customary ceremonies of the uprooting of herbs, throwing of stones, and drawing up a record of all that had transpired.’ ” Later in the day,

" 'All the officers joined the Fathers in a repast on the bayshore, whilst the men of the land expedition and the crew of the ship enjoyed themselves similarly amid the salutes of the artillery and musketry.

" 'With this day, therefore, divine worship began here and the famous Port of Monterey passed into the dominion and command of our king' " (Engelhardt).

The Presidio of Monterey was the first established in Alta California, there being at San Diego only a garrison in connection with the mission. Monterey became the first capital, and remained the capital for many years.

The formal record of these ceremonies began as follows: " 'Don Gaspar de Portolá, Captain of Dragoons of the Regiment of Spain, Governor of California and Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition to the ports of San Diego and Monterey, situated in thirty-three and thirty-seven degrees, in accordance with the Royal Decree:

" 'By these presents be it known that in the Camp and Port of Monterey on the third day of the month of June of this year, in fulfillment of the orders which I bear from the Most Illustrious Señor Visitor General Don Joseph de Gálvez of the Council and Cabinet of His Majesty in the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, . . . ' " and very much more, announcing that orders had been carried out, and stating that " 'the triumphant standard of the Holy Cross' " had been set up; and referring to the " 'Catholic, Christian and pious zeal of His Majesty . . . known, far and wide, from the fact that his royal treasury is open for the purpose of gathering the evangelical harvest which is being undertaken . . . ' " (*ibid.*). Of this, Engelhardt says in a note: "That was the general impression; but, as we have seen, the conquest was not undertaken for the sake of evangelizing the inhabitants, nor was the royal treasury 'open' for that purpose to the extent of contributing one peso."

"By these presents," Spain was announcing to the world that she was now officially in possession of the northwest coast of the Californias, and was prepared to do battle in order to hold it "against all comers."

This report was entrusted to two volunteers, a soldier and a sailor, despatched on June 15, on horseback, to proceed to Mexico by way of the Peninsula, and to spread the glad tidings as they went. Not far beyond San Diego, they met Rivera y Moncada, returning with cattle and provisions from Baja California, who detached five soldiers as an escort for them. On August 2, they reached Mission Todos Santos, near Cape San Lucas, at which latter place they were put on board a vessel and sent across the gulf.

Portolá had been given permission by the *visitador*, vested with viceregal authority, to return to Mexico when the object of the expedition had been attained. Monterey having been located and both mission and *presidio* officially founded; temporary huts, a chapel, and a stockade built; and everything arranged for the best good and comfort of all, he formally turned over the command to Don Pedro Fages, who seems to have been practically, although unofficially, in command for some little time before this date. Accompanied by Don Miguel Costansó, he set sail on the *San Antonio* for San Blas, arriving on August 1, in advance of his own messengers despatched on June 15. Remaining at Tepic to rest, he at once sent a courier to the viceroy.

On August 10, Croix received the report forwarded by Portolá, announcing the occupation of Monterey. Bells of the great cathedral heralded forth the welcome news—certain bells never rung except upon occasions of joy and thanksgiving—and these chimes, a well-known signal, were answered, as was the custom, by the bells of all the other churches.

For many months, the *visitador* had been ill at Álamos and at times near unto death. He was now at the capital and well enough to take part in the various ceremonies

following the receipt of the good news, to share the glory and receive congratulations with Croix at the viceregal palace, and to be present at the solemn high mass attended by the entire viceregal court, ordered celebrated by the viceroy. Gálvez, also, directed the printing of an account of the expedition for distribution throughout both new and old Spain.

As a reward for his services, Portolá was promoted to a lieutenant colonelcy, and later, in 1776, was made Governor of Puebla, New Spain. In 1784, at the age of sixty-one, he was retired with the rank of colonel, at which time he returned to Spain.

X

The *San Carlos* had been lying in the harbor of San Diego for some fifteen months, waiting for sailors, but, except for five left there because of sickness, was still without them. The *San Antonio*, on the voyage south from Monterey, in July, with Portolá and Costansó on board, had passed without stopping. Vila now determined to make up a crew as best he could, and did so, asking Rivera, who had returned from the Peninsula and was then at San Diego, to help him out by letting him have one of his soldiers and two *vaqueros*—cowboys—who happened to know something of the sea. With these three, his five sailors, and the *pilotin*, he manned his ship and sailed away some time in August.

As the weather was propitious, the *San Carlos* arrived safely and in due time at San Blas, and, having received most excellent care during her long period of idleness, was in good condition and soon ready for sea again. Shortly after reaching port, the captain, Don Vicente Vila, fell sick and died.

Before the founding of any of the Alta California missions, the *visitador*, Don José de Gálvez, had realized that San Diego, Monterey, and San Buenaventura, with the missionaries assigned to them, would not for long meet the requirements of the new venture. More missions would be needed and more missionaries. He hoped that the fleet leaving Cádiz in November of the year before, 1768, would bring a reënforcement of Franciscans, and, in fact, forty-five friars were expected.

There can be no doubt that the welfare of these missions was very near his heart. He was constantly on the alert in regard to them and striving for their betterment. In June, 1769, he wrote from Álamos to "Guardian Fray Juan Andrés, to send to the Californias all the *operarios* possible" (Richman), and, while ill at the same place, writing to the viceroy, on August 22, that he did not expect to recover, urged him to aid and protect the new establishments. Forty-five friars, under Fray Rafael Verger as superior, did eventually arrive, but not until May, 1770.

In a letter to the viceroy, received about six weeks after the arrival of the friars under Verger, the *padre presidente* asks permission to remove Mission San Carlos to a more suitable location near El Río Carmelo, or elsewhere; and petitions that a chain of missions be established to facilitate communication and the more rapid reduction of the natives; and, also, that more missionaries be sent, "we provided with vestments, sacred vessels, house furniture and especially agricultural implements." To the same effect, he importuned the Guardian of the College of San Fernando.

The viceroy resolved to found the new missions: five in Baja and five in Alta California, besides San Buenaventura not as yet established. Those in Alta California were to be: San Gabriel Arcángel, San Antonio de Padua, San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, Santa Clara de Asís, and San Francisco de Asís. Two missionaries were to be assigned to each *doctrina*—mission, in this sense. For founding a mission, one thousand *pesos* would be allowed; and to each missionary, four hundred *pesos* for traveling expenses and as salary, two hundred and seventy-five per annum. Also from that time on, missions would be founded and missionaries paid out of the Pious Fund. Permission to remove Mission San Carlos to Carmelo, or elsewhere, was granted. Letters notifying Serra, from viceroy and *visitador*, are dated November 12, 1770. Attention was called to a

"sumptuous" and complete set of vestments to be sent for that mission, the gift of the viceroy.

A story, unexpectedly bizarre in such a connection, might be woven about the management and mismanagement of contributions for a definite purpose, found convenient to dip into when money was needed, designated as the "Pious Fund." It would be an interesting, almost a thrilling, tale. But, for the present purpose, a clear and succinct *résumé* is sufficient, and is found in the report of Jackson H. Ralston, agent for the United States in the matter of the Pious Fund, before the Hague Tribunal, as follows: "As early as the year 1697 certain members of the Order of Jesus, with the permission of the King of Spain and upon condition that they should not have power to draw against or from the royal revenues for such purpose, undertook the conversion of the Indians of the Californias, and to effect this end collected considerable sums of money and entered upon their work. From time to time large contributions were made to assist in the development of the missions established or designed to be established by them or by their successors, the total of such contributions down to the year 1731, reaching \$120,000. In 1735 properties valued at about \$40,000 were deeded for the same purpose, and in 1747 an additional contribution, finally amounting to the sum of \$120,000 was made. Later, and about the year 1784, some \$400,000 reached the fund from another source.

"These moneys, to which were added various smaller contributions from time to time from other sources, constituted what became known as 'The Pious Fund of the Californias,' which, during the earlier portion of its existence, was entirely managed and controlled by the Order of Jesus. Later, and upon the expulsion of the Order from the dominions of the King of Spain, that monarch acted as trustee"

Missionaries for the Californias left the College of San

Fernando, in October, 1770, for Tepic, there to await the sailing of vessels for their destinations. Both the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* were at that time at San Blas but it was not until January that they set sail, the *San Antonio* bound for Alta California with the friars for the new missions on board, and carrying a cargo of provisions and other necessities. The letters of notification to Seri mentioned as under date of the previous November 12, and instructions for Fages were despatched by this boat. Another important item was the set of precious vestments the gift of the viceroy. And—there were others not so “sumptuous” but with a history: vestments collected from church and sacristy at the time of the deportation of the Jesuits and the confiscation of all their possessions. Some of these Don José de Gálvez caused to be boxed up and sent to help out his beloved missions on the far-away northwest coast. They now appear for the first time, so far as we are concerned. We are making their acquaintance. But they reappear, for they became quite conspicuous in the annals of the day—not to say notorious—because mayhap, of something they should have been but were not.

Departing for the short voyage across the gulf on board the *San Carlos*, were the friars for Baja California. What happened is nothing short of tragic, but is, also, another story.

Sailing on January 20, 1771, from San Blas, the *San Antonio* dropped anchor in the harbor of San Diego on March 12; freight billed for that port was unloaded and, on April 14, she proceeded on her way. One change in personnel had been made: Finding both missionaries at San Diego suffering with scurvy, one of the new arrivals, Padre Dumetz, was left there temporarily with Padre Parron; the other, Padre Gómez, going in his place to Monterey. Owing to contrary winds, the *San Antonio* was not able to make that port until the 21st of May.

The arrival of such a delegation of coworkers was a

most agreeable surprise to Serra and Crespi; but many new arrangements had now to be made in consequence.

The *fiesta* of *Corpus Christi* was at hand, and Serra determined to keep every one at Monterey until after that date, May 30, that the day might be observed fittingly with appropriate ceremonies and with all the splendor made possible by the presence of so many clericals. The *fiesta* was also that of San Fernando, the patron saint of their college, and on the great day "A solemn High Mass with deacon and sub-deacon was sung and a sermon preached"—probably by the *padre presidente*, but we have no data to that effect. "The procession with the Blessed Sacrament was then held in the open air" (Engelhardt). When the ceremonies were concluded, the *padre presidente* assigned the missionaries to their future stations: to San Diego, San Buenaventura, San Gabriel, San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, and San Carlos,—but, of these, only San Diego and San Carlos existed. This was, indeed, a very wonderful day for Serra.

On June 7, the *San Antonio* got under way for the return trip to San Blas, having on board as far as San Diego, where she arrived June 14, the military commander of Alta California, Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages, going south on a tour of inspection and to arrange for the founding of the new missions there; and, also, the five friars assigned to Missions San Diego, San Gabriel, and San Buenaventura; and, from there on, Padre Francisco Gómez, invalided home, to the College of San Fernando at Mexico City. Padre Parron, the other friar with scurvy, had gone to Baja California, and Padre Dumetz, assigned to San Diego, was, as we know, already there.

Instructions issued by the viceroy on the same date as the notification to the *padre presidente*, November 12, 1770, to Don Pedro Fages, and received by him upon the arrival of the *San Antonio* at Monterey, on May 21, are, in part, as follows: "In order that the founding of the new mis-

sions on the coast may not be delayed, the packet *El Príncipe* [the *San Antonio*] brings ten Fathers, abundant supplies, farm implements and other useful articles, as you will see from the invoice which the comisario at San Blas . . . must forward and give to Don Juan Pérez [commanding the *San Antonio*]. You will distribute the supplies in orderly proportion between the presidio and the Missionary Fathers . . . also the field implements and carpenter tools which may not be needed at the presidio You will also assign of the cattle and mules, which have been brought up from Velicatá, a certain number to the Fathers. Two boxes of medicines also go along in the *San Antonio* for Dr. Prat who is to give a part of them to the Fathers, whose missions are not in the vicinity of the presidio, with necessary instructions for using them.

"If on receipt of this it has not been done, you will make preparations to establish Mission San Carlos on the banks of the Río Carmelo, and you will station there sufficient guard of soldiers. You will observe the same arrangements with regard to other missions which are to be founded along the coast to San Diego . . . I this day give the necessary orders so that you may obtain the soldiers whom Captain Rivera is bringing up from Loreto.

"With this understanding the . . . missionaries are sent. Eight of them are necessary to found four Doctrinas Then, as soon as possible, you will by land and by sea, examine the Port of San Francisco, situated much to the north of Monterey . . . to the end that a mission may be established there, so that the said important locality may not be exposed to foreign occupation.'" Of that clause in a note, Engelhardt has this to say: "Here the real purpose for the hasty founding of the missions crops out, as far as the government was concerned."

The instructions further read: "I herewith charge you very particularly to proceed to establish said missions without the least delay as an object demanding your first atten-

tion. In order that you may execute this with punctuality, I direct the captain at Guaymas to send you twelve soldiers to replace those who have died on the voyage.' "

During the previous year, the *padre presidente* had looked about for a better location for Mission San Carlos farther away from the Presidio of Monterey, experience in Texas, Baja California, and elsewhere having taught that the vicinity of a *presidio* was always detrimental to the work of a mission; that the too close proximity of soldiers led to immorality and the spread of disease among the natives; and that their frequent misconduct toward the wives of the Indians infuriated their men, not only leading to bloodshed, but thereby greatly retarding the work of the friars. It was also desirable to locate the mission where the soil would be better adapted to agriculture, the planting of orchards, and where the necessary irrigation would be possible. He had found an ideal spot across the little peninsula on the banks of the Río Carmelo, surrounded by forests of pine and cypress, where there was enough flat land to make irrigation practicable, with ample space for the mission buildings, above a small lake and the never failing *río* discharging its waters into the ocean south of Point Pinos. In his letter to the viceroy, asking permission to remove Mission San Carlos from Monterey, he had suggested this place as suitable. Permission having been received, as well as instructions to the *comandante* in regard to it, it was now possible for him to carry out the idea. Two days after the *San Antonio* had sailed on her return trip south, therefore, on June 9, 1771, he set out for the new site, taking with him several sailors and four Baja California Indians who were to fell trees and prepare timber for the proposed buildings, with a few soldiers to guard them while there. After carefully instructing them, Serra returned to Monterey.

Following the founding of the Royal Presidio of Mon-

terey and Mission San Carlos de Borromeo in the preceding year, no Indians came about, having been terrorized by the noise of the firing of cannon and discharge of musketry. The little chapel, consecrated on June 14, 1770, had no native congregation for a long time, but their timidity was at length overcome by a compelling curiosity and the lure of trinkets dear to the Indian; nevertheless, it was some months or more after that time that the first baptism took place.

Upon his return from Carmelo, the *padre presidente* began to make ready for a journey to a region new to him some fifteen miles inland, where, in the heart of the Santa Lucía Mountains, lay a beautiful little valley with a stream flowing through it down to the Salinas River, where the land was rich and so well wooded that a large Indian population thrived on the abundant seeds, nuts, and acorns. Two years before, it had so impressed the Portolá expedition with its entire adaptability to mission purposes, that it had been selected as the site for one of the five new ones San Antonio de Padua.

Early in July, Serra set out, taking with him the two new friars, Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar, who were to be left in charge; a corporal and six soldiers, who were to remain as the mission guard; three sailors, some Baja California neophytes, and a pack train loaded with provisions and goods for the mission. Following the trail as best they could, they finally found themselves in a valley which they named *Los Robles*—The Oaks; and there they camped beside a stream, called by the *padre presidente* *Río San Antonio*.

A bell was unpacked and swung from a stout branch of a great oak. Engelhardt tells us that Serra "suddenly rang the bell and exclaimed in a loud voice: 'Oh! ye gentiles! Come, come to the holy Church! Come, come to receive the faith of Jesus Christ!' Amazed at this strange action of their superior, Fr. Miguel said to him, "Why, Father,

do you tire yourself? This is not the spot on which the church is to be built; nor is there a gentile in the whole vicinity. It is useless to ring the bell!' 'Father,' the Fr. Presidente pleaded, 'let me give vent to my heart which desires that this bell might be heard all over the world, or at least by the heathens that live in this sierra!'"

On July 14, two years to a day from the time the *expedición santa* had marched northward from San Diego, Mission San Antonio de Padua was founded with the usual ceremonies. After the great cross was raised and while he was preaching, Serra saw an Indian among his small congregation, who had doubtless been attracted by the vigorous bell ringing. Fray Junípero seized upon his presence as a sign, and called attention to it, saying: "' . . . we see, what was not observed at the founding of the missions thus far established, that at the first holy Mass the first-fruit from paganism has assisted'" (Engelhardt). He gave the Indian some little presents, hoping to draw him back to the mission and others with him. The desired effect was brought about, for the natives came in crowds, bringing wild fruits, nuts, and acorns to exchange for glass beads and other trifles. Serra remained fifteen days with the isolated little group, advising the friars as to their manner of dealing with the Indians, and instructing them in the management of the temporal affairs of the mission, during which time the usual buildings and stockade had been constructed. He then returned to Monterey.

The indefatigable *padre presidente* was now most anxious to found Mission San Luis Obispo; but, lacking the necessary soldiers, he was obliged to control his impatience and await the return of the *comandante* from the south. Nevertheless, as one may well imagine, he was very far from idle, and betook himself to Carmelo to speed up the work there. Felling trees, preparing timber, and leveling the ground took time, and dragged along until December of that year, when, after the mission chapel, a dwelling for the friars,

storehouse, barracks, and a corral had been built, and *estacada*, now considered essential for safety, thrown around them, Fray Junípero Serra and Fray Juan Crespi and with them the two friars assigned to the not as yet established Mission San Luis Obispo, escorted by the mission guard of five soldiers, left the port of Monterey, and took up their abode there. The name of Mission San Carlos de Borromeo was not changed at all; the mission was simply moved from one locality to another. It was often called "Mission Carmelo," but was officially Mission San Carlos; and the buildings and little chapel at the point were called Presidio de Monterey or merely Monterey.

On the same day that Mission San Antonio de Padua was founded, July 14, *el comandante*, Don Pedro Fages, with the friars for the new missions in the south, arrived at San Diego. Friars taking the place at that mission and the two afflicted with scurvy were Luis Jaime and Francis Dumetz. It had been agreed that Mission San Gabriel Arcángel was to be established on the Río de los Temblores and Mission San Buenaventura at Asunción, near the first Indian town on the Santa Bárbara Channel.

Soldiers that had been promised Fages arrived on July 18: twenty soldiers besides five *vaqueros* and sixty mules. In a letter of that date to Viceroy Croix, he writes: "All this will help me to found the two missions of San Gabriel and San Buenaventura. I shall immediately proceed to carry out the resolution, and shall leave at each a proportionate number of cattle and mules, and put each mission in a good state of defense." "The best laid plans . . . gang aft agley," and, just as all arrangements were complete, trouble began and developed into a serious hindrance to the whole undertaking, for, on July 22, nine soldiers and an *arriero* deserted, taking with them fifty horses, heading for Sonora. They were followed by a detail of soldiers and, at the request of Fages, Padre Paterna, with authority to offer the fugitives full pardon upon their return.

went with them. On August 6, five soldiers and a corporal unceremoniously took their leave, taking forty-five horses, and staging their desertion for the very day set for the departure of the party with guards and paraphernalia to found the two missions. The first group returned, later, but disappeared again, taking some cattle with them; the second group came back on the 24th, stole some cattle, and departed. This progressive game of hide and seek so enraged Fages that, taking Padre Dumetz with him, he went after them himself and with success, for all the deserters returned.

In the meantime, on August 6, the two friars assigned to Mission San Gabriel, Ángel Somera and Benito Cambon, began the journey northward, but without Don Pedro Fages, whose hands were more than full at that time. They were under escort of ten soldiers, and were accompanied by a pack train with provisions and mission accessories, in charge of four *arrieros* and a special guard of four more soldiers. Near the Río de los Temblores, the wayfarers were surrounded by a large band of Indians, seemingly bent on attacking them. Engelhardt, taking the story from Palou, says: “. . . not knowing what else to do, one of the friars unfurled a banner, which on one side showed a picture of Our Lady of Sorrows, and held it up to the gaze of the howling Indians. No sooner had the gentiles set their eyes on the image of the Blessed Virgin than they threw down their bows and arrows. Two chiefs took from their necks the strings of beads which they wore, and in token of submission placed them at the foot of the picture. The Indians from all the neighboring rancherias, men, women and children, then flocked together offering seeds which they laid before the picture, while they gazed in wonder and delight at the holy Virgin.”

They encamped and made surveys, but finding the place unsuitable, a site was chosen some six leagues farther on,

and the mission founded on September 8, 1771, above an *arroyo* through which ran a stream of clear, cool water enough, even in midsummer, for irrigation, bordered with cottonwoods, willows, and other trees, from whose branches grapevines hung in festoons. There were "roses of Castile" in profusion and a riot of blackberry vines laden with lusciousness. Not more than seven leagues distant, *sierra* rose high above valley and *mesa*. Within half a league was a fine forest of oaks. Is it matter for wonder to us of this day, who are held spellbound by the ravishing beauty of the landscape, that here in this wonderful valley Mission San Gabriel Arcángel was established?

Huts of palisades, thatched with *tules*—rushes—were built and the indispensable stockade, and in this work the Indians willingly lent a hand. This greatly encouraged the *padres*, who felt that here, at least, conversion of the heathen would not be so difficult as at San Diego. But the misconduct of one soldier toward the wife of a chief destroyed this golden opportunity, and laid the foundation for ill feeling and distrust of all the soldiers. Thus, many difficulties were added to the work of the missionaries, and the direct result, although this was not understood at the time, was what came about on October 10, when two soldiers, guarding horses some distance away, were attacked by a number of Indians. It was so unexpected and so sudden that the soldiers had no time to put on their *cueras*, but managed to protect themselves from the arrows with their rawhide shields. One soldier was the special target, and one Indian was bolder in his attack than the rest. Driven to extremities, this soldier fired on the Indian and killed him. Being their first experience with the deadly effect of firearms, the Indians turned and fled. Hearing the noise, other soldiers arrived upon the scene. The corporal ordered that the head of the dead Indian should be severed from the body and mounted on a pole as a warning.

When the matter was investigated, it appeared that the soldier evidently selected for a special assault was the one who had attacked the wife of the chief, and that the Indian bolder than the rest, who had been killed by the soldier, was that chief. But this was only the beginning of much trouble of a like character: the constant misbehaving of the soldiers toward the Indian women, and the natural desire of their men to mete out to them their richly deserved punishment. Many disagreeable consequences followed this unfortunate incident.

A few days later, the *comandante* arrived from San Diego with two friars and the guard for the contemplated missions, which had been augmented by the arrival of twelve more soldiers from Loreto. When Fages heard of the seemingly unprovoked attack, he increased the guard at San Gabriel. With the new outlook and the experience at San Diego, the soldiers he now had did not seem a sufficient number to warrant the founding of San Buenaventura; consequently, the two friars and everything provided for that mission must remain at San Gabriel, pending a time more opportune, which did not arrive for twelve years thereafter.

The two friars in charge of San Gabriel, becoming too ill to attend to their duties, were permitted to return to the Peninsula; while those who had been en route to San Buenaventura—Paterna and Cruzada—remained and took their places. Eventually, they were able to restore the confidence of the natives; and it appears that when a few children were presented for baptism, among the first was the child of the Indian killed in the manner just related. (Drawn, and where quoted, Engelhardt, from Palou.)

Going on northward and arriving at Monterey, Fages visited the *padre presidente* and told him of the various troublesome occurrences in the south. It was all very disturbing to Serra, but that the mission not founded should have been the "intermediate mission" was especially so.

He now asked that Mission San Luis Obispo be established, and, indeed, his heart was quite set on it, but it was entirely out of the question as there were no soldiers to safeguard it. He then proposed to Fages that explorations and surveys for a site for Mission San Francisco de Asís be begun. This was directly in line with the viceroy's orders, and the *comandante* agreed, with the understanding that nothing was to be done until after the rainy season, promising that he, himself, would go, provided Padre Juan Crespi would accompany him.

True to his word to Serra, and at the same time carrying out orders, as soon as it was practicable in the spring, the expedition marched.

Crespi's account of the departure from the Presidio of Monterey begins in this wise: " 'With the help of God, we, Captain Pedro Fages and I, on Friday, March 20th, 1772, set out from the presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, at half-past ten in the morning, determined to survey the port of our Father St. Francis for the purpose of finding a convenient site for the mission which is to be erected there.' " The diaries of Fages and Crespi do not agree as to the exact make-up of the expedition, or in other non-essentials. Fages says they were accompanied by fourteen soldiers and a Christianized Indian; Crespi, twelve, and he mentions an *arriero* and pack train. After a march of about four hours, according to Crespi, and four leagues, as given by Fages, and crossing with great difficulty the Río de Monterey—the Salinas—then in spring flood, camp was made where the Portolá party had halted on October 1, 1769.

Proceeding, they took a course a little to the north of the present town of Gilroy, passing on through the beautiful and extensive valley beyond, which Crespi found very suitable for a mission; and, in fact, later, Mission Santa Clara was established there. From there, they passed on around the southern point of the bay, then northward, on

the eastern side, passing a creek, and through what is now the site of the town of Alameda, "a peninsula covered with oaks"; then through what is East Oakland, across a plain from which they could see the ocean (evidently from Berkeley) directly through the *brazo de mar* which had turned back Ortega in 1769. No natives had been seen for several days, but, five leagues farther on, they came upon a *ranchería* of Indians different from any they had seen: their skins were fairer and the men were bearded.

They then passed around San Pablo Bay—described as a round bay like a lake, large enough for all the ships of Spain, with very deep water, for four whales were seen—and on around the Martinez Peninsula. Turning, north of the Contra Costa Mountains, and coming upon an *estero* penetrating the land (the Strait of Carquinez), which they could not cross, they continued as far, perhaps, as Antioch, where, from a slight elevation, two great rivers were observed. Going no farther in the direction of the far distant *sierras*, they bent their steps through a pass toward their own line of march northward; and, returning, passed nearer the southern point of the bay. At times, on this march, they had been fairly tortured by mosquitoes, which they said were "worse than at San Blas." The return was shortened by about fourteen leagues and, on April 5, they were again at the Presidio of Monterey.

The eastern side of the great inland sea, already partially explored by Ortega in 1769, had been explored in an attempt to carry out the orders of the viceroy, but the port of San Francisco had not been examined, nor had the principal object of the expedition been attained.

Upon his return to Monterey, a matter which had to receive immediate attention was laid before the *comandante*. News had been received by Serra that Mission San Diego was in dire distress for want of food, and that Padre Dumetz had gone to Baja California, hoping to secure

provisions. Thereupon, a relief train of pack mules was loaded and sent on its way to San Diego, on April 13. Although but just returned from the strenuous march of eighteen days with the *comandante*, Padre Juan Crespi, ever "the man of the hour," went along in order to bear Padre Jaime company during the absence of Dumetz. On the way down, he found the friars at Mission San Gabriel, "for want of victuals, had already 'tightened their cords.' Arriving at San Diego he learned that for a long time the two Fathers had been subsisting on half a pint of corn, twenty ounces of flour and a little milk each day" (Engelhardt, note).

Soon food began to run short at Monterey as well, and a party was organized by Don Pedro Fages to go to Cañada de los Osos, some fifty leagues to the south, and hunt bears, in such numbers thereabouts. In this way, meat was secured for *presidio* and mission. In a communication to Croix, June 26, 1772, Fages wrote that provisions would not hold out two months; and, under date of June 27, acknowledged the receipt of his royal appointment to a captaincy.

In a letter to Fray Francisco Palou, in charge of the Peninsula missions, Fray Junípero Serra tells him: "The principal supporters of our people are the heathen Indians. Through them we live as God wills, though the milk from the cows and some vegetables from the garden have been the chief means of subsistence . . . but both sources are becoming scanty. . . .

"'. . . There is quite a number of Christians Although some think that from gentle lambs, which they appear to be, they may some day turn tigers and lions, which may indeed happen if God permits; yet among those of Monterey we have already an experience of three years, and of two years among those of San Antonio, and every day they grow better.

"'. . . In countries like this, where neither an interpreter

nor a teacher can be procured for the study of the language, some time must pass by until one of the natives has learned the Spanish language. At San Diego time has already overcome this drawback. They already baptize grown people and celebrate marriages' " (Engelhardt). Serra felt very keenly his inability to master the language of the aborigines about him, and felt that this must be because of some of his own sins. Had they been able to talk with the natives, many things might have gone better; but Fray Junípero felt that had that been possible, all, by this time, would have become Christians.

News brought to Monterey, in August, 1772, by a courier, threw both *presidio* and mission into a state of consternation. The *San Carlos*, under command of Vila's former *piloto*, Miguel Pino, and the *San Antonio*, under Juan Pérez, had arrived at San Diego earlier in the month. Contrary to expectations and, perhaps, orders, both captains had determined to discharge their entire cargoes there. The *San Antonio* had endeavored to make the port of Monterey but, owing to contrary winds, had failed, and the captain was not inclined to make a second attempt.

Fages was about to start for the south, and Serra decided to take advantage of this opportunity to go, also, and to found Mission San Luis Obispo on the way. With them were Fray José Cavaller, two Baja California neophytes, as many soldiers as could be spared, *arrieros*, and a pack train. On the march south, Mission San Antonio was visited and inspected. The location of the new mission having been previously determined upon, they directed their course toward La Cañada de los Osos; there, a site with a fine view, as was their custom where possible, was chosen, only about three leagues from the sea, and, on September 1, 1772, Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa was hastily founded. The next day, Fages and Serra hurried away, leaving the two neophytes, a corporal, and four soldiers,

with Padre Cavaller in charge. Supplies left this forlorn little group were, exactly, fifty pounds of flour, some chocolate, three *almudas*—pecks—of wheat for sowing, and a box of brown sugar to barter with the Indians for nuts and seeds.

It is interesting to note that, later, at this mission, the use of tiles for roofing was first adopted in California, replacing the inflammable thatch theretofore in use, after the mission had been three times set on fire, the first time by a burning arrow shot with that intent by an Indian. No one had previous knowledge of tile-making, but the process was worked out, somehow. The cylinders of hard burnt clay that resulted were, thereafter, used with a delightfully artistic effect for roofing all mission buildings.

This was Padre Presidente Serra's first overland journey along the coast north of San Diego, his first sight of the innumerable Indian villages dotted along the entire length of the Santa Bárbara Channel, and the valley reached on the 11th was new to him, where, under the lofty *sierras*, nestled Mission San Gabriel. He was enthusiastic over the location and satisfied with what had been accomplished during the year. The *comandante* was on the march again on the 13th, and on September 16 (1772), the party arrived at San Diego, from which place Serra had been absent two years and five months.

XI

At San Diego, it was found that not only were the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* in port, but that Padre Dumetz, accompanied by a new friar, Tomás de la Peña, had returned from the Peninsula with provisions and a flock of sheep.

Supplies were sent north, overland, to relieve the situation at the missions along the road. Crespí and Dumetz departed for Monterey to release the two friars for Missions San Antonio and San Luis Obispo, who were on detached service at Mission San Carlos.

Don Juan Pérez, captain of the *San Antonio*, after so many trying experiences bravely met in the past, had evidently decided that, for the nonce, he had had quite enough of the contrary winds that had baffled his approach to Monterey the preceding month, and would therefore unload his entire cargo for the northern missions at San Diego, from there to be sent by pack train overland—an idea absolutely impractical. This, it would seem, must have been eventually made clear to him. Whether it was or not, he put to sea on the 27th, bound for Monterey. In his *Vida*, Palou says this change of heart on the part of Captain Pérez was due to Serra's prompting; but in his *Noticias*, he says Fages did the persuading; so, perhaps, both urged, each in his own way. Serra begged him to trust in God and not to fear the winds. What Fages said to him does not appear—and it may be just as well!

The utter absurdity of unloading, at San Diego, goods brought by the *San Antonio* consigned to Monterey, and sending them by pack train overland to the northern port, does not seem to have impressed those in authority at Mexico City, for, later, under date of December 2 of that

same year, 1772, Don Pedro Fages was reprimanded for not having done so.

Deeming the time now ripe for founding the "new missions" and San Buenaventura, the *padre presidente* approached the *comandante* on the subject, but Fages was adamant in his refusal.

As the matter of the inadvisability of the rapid founding of missions is gone into fully in another connection—not, however, in reference to the controversy between Serra and Fages,—that point need be but briefly touched upon here. Says Richman: "As early as August, 1770, Serra had been advised by Matías de Armona (successor to Portolá as Governor of the Californias) that the 'vehement desire' of his Reverence to establish missions additional to those of San Diego and Monterey was, in the dearth of troops, nothing less than a *tentación del demonio* [temptation of the evil one]." It would seem that Fray Junípero was, at all times, very urgent in the matter of founding new missions, in the face of everything and against the advice of every one familiar with conditions surrounding the new ventures. When importuned by Serra to establish Mission San Francisco, Fages had refused. This had so disturbed the *padre presidente* that he had written a long letter to the viceroy, setting forth his complaints against Fages. It is true that "five new missions" and San Buenaventura had been ordered established by the *visitador*, Don José de Gálvez, and Viceroy de Croix. As to the mission to be established on the Estero de San Francisco, Fages had written to the viceroy, stating that it was impossible to found Mission San Francisco at that time, and would be impossible until more soldiers were available.

The seeming docility of the Indians, due sometimes simply to fear, was not always to be trusted. Not even short journeys were attempted without an armed force. Hostile demonstrations, even between San Diego and San

Gabriel, were frequent. Farther up the coast, a party under the *comandante* himself had been stoned by the Indians, until, finally, in order to put an end to it, two or three had to be killed. This was likely to happen to any small party and was not in the least unusual. Troops were absolutely necessary for every new venture; and, at this juncture, there was the same "dearth of troops" mentioned by Matías de Armona.

While three of the "five new missions" had now been established according to orders, the "intermediate mission" of the original group had not, and Fages still flatly refused to do so, being in no mood to establish new missions without the requisite number of soldiers to safeguard them—especially not that mission, where the situation was vastly more menacing! After the affair with the Indians at San Gabriel, on October 10 of the preceding year, 1771, furnishings for the "intermediate mission," then en route to the Santa Bárbara Channel coast, overland, were stored; and Fages had proceeded no further in the matter of founding Mission San Buenaventura. Conditions there were the same as those fully set forth by Chapman, who says, referring to a later period: ". . . the Indians were numerous and very different from the others in the province. . . . They were well disposed towards the Spaniards, but warlike with one another, an almost continuous state of war existing between the villages. They were too bold, however, for the Spaniards to count safely on their seeming affability and lack of good weapons. In fine, they were barbarians, and therefore capable of committing any kind of hostile act, if it should strike their fancy."

It may be that the manner of the repeated refusals on the part of the *comandante* was not always all it should have been, for, included in instructions received by him, either before or shortly after this time, is the following: "I charge Your Honor very strictly to preserve harmony with the Missionary Fathers Likewise I charge

Your Honor that you do all you easily can in order to keep the missionaries in the tranquillity which they desire, . . . listening with affability and dignity to the complaints of one and all, and assisting them with whatever is necessary in order that the sovereign intentions of His Majesty may be realized' " (Engelhardt). It is evident that Serra was importunate and unreasonable in the extreme; on the other hand, Fages was not carrying out instructions in regard to new missions. Fages, without doubt, had "the courage of his convictions." May it not have been one of the unusual instances, where to disobey orders is more commendable, and requires more courage, than to execute them?

In the plan of Spanish conquest, where Church and State went hand in hand, there had never been an official policy formulated as to which should control where matters spiritual and temporal met. It had simply been the custom to give way to the clericals, to allow them to control not only in spiritual affairs, but, to a great extent, sometimes in affairs purely temporal, where the interests of the missions might be the better served. In the Californias, under the high-minded policy of Don Gaspar de Portolá, who, with fine tact and courtesy, smoothed over trying situations, all had gone well; but—while all went well under his able administration—there had been, everywhere, even prior to the expulsion of the Jesuits, an actual, but still scarcely perceptible, tightening of the hand of State over Church. With the elevation of Fages to the military command of Alta California, friction—ever so slight, but friction, nevertheless—began. According to Engelhardt, Fages, in his refusal at this time to go on with the founding of the missions, had given Serra to understand that this was his and not the missionaries' affair! Still further and serious offense was given by Fages, in forwarding to Serra, under date of October 12, 1772, part of a communication from the viceroy to him, dated November 30, 1771, and refer-

ring to the *padre presidente*. Quotations from Viceroy Bucareli's letter to Fages are as follows: "'Your Honor (Fages) will see to it, and you will impress upon the Rev. Fr. Junípero Serra, presidente of the missions, the commendable obligations under which they are by example and persuasion to stimulate all to obey and comply with the orders of Your Honor.' In a note to this communication Fages remarked, 'I bring all this to the attention of Your Reverence, and supplicate you to make the other religious understand it for the due accomplishment of so important an object.'"

Of course, this forthright soldier was tactless, but the *padre* rose bravely to the occasion, replying: "'I have always persuaded and urged the subalterns and subjects of Your Honor to obey your orders. For this I have the testimony of my conscience, and Your Honor could, if you would, bear testimony to what I have done in the case of the soldier Ignacio Estevanell.'"

The increasing acrimony of the situation during the fall of the year 1772 was largely a result, "growing by what it fed on" in the isolation and narrowness of the lives of the principal participants in Alta California. The desertions of the year before loom large as a prime factor of much that followed, both in immediate consequences and, appearing from time to time, in a long train of "after effects." Because of them and the consequent loss of confidence in his soldiers, coupled with the outlook upon his arrival at San Gabriel, it had been impossible for the *comandante* to found Mission San Buenaventura, at that time so intensely desired by the *padre presidente*. Also, his report in reference to these desertions—reflecting, as it was surmised, upon the missions—gave grave offense. As to the "offending report made by Captain Don Pedro Fages, Lieutenant Governor, to Don Felipe Barri, Governor, who had succeeded Don Matías de Armona in Baja California, we find in Engelhardt's *Missions and Missionaries of Cali-*

fornia, that "instead of stating that it was due to the effort of the missionaries that on two occasions the soldiers . . . returned to their duty," Fages had reported to Barri that "the fugitive soldiers were in the church of the mission and protected by the missionaries." Whether at this time or not, it does, indeed, appear that sometimes the mission church was taken full advantage of for sanctuary, and according to several authorities, these soldiers "took refuge in San Diego mission, where they were protected by the missionaries from the wrath of Fages" (Chapman). "I was after the receipt of these reports," according to Engelhardt, "that Bucareli directed Fages, no matter what step Governor Barri might take, to chastise the instigators of insubordination, and to warn the missionaries that they were to obey his commands."

Far more reprehensible is the conduct of Fages as told by Richman: "He meddled in the discipline of neophytes; he withheld and opened letters; he appropriated the mission mules; he diverted mission supplies"; but that which rankled and caused most bitterness was that "he refused to retire soldiers for bad conduct"; for, by reason of this, "the men were more or less protected in their illicit relations with Indian women,—relations which, aside from the effect of neutralizing the moral teachings of the padres, were laying the basis for a wide infection of the northern Indians with the same disease which had wrought havoc in the south." In a note based upon Palou's *Vida*, his *Noticias* and other sources, we find that the soldiers "were wont, it seems, for their diversion to capture Indian women by use of the lasso." Padre Jaime, in charge of Mission San Diego at that time, tells us that "The tumults which have arisen in certain *rancherías* have been caused by the soldiers seizing the Indian women.' "

The comparatively simple matter which had brought Serra south, that of inducing Captain Pérez of the *San*

Antonio to proceed to Monterey to discharge his cargo instead of stranding it at San Diego, having been disposed of, a multiplicity of matters, trying in the extreme to him, now served to disturb the *padre presidente*. First: the structure which, with such care and at whatever cost in suffering, the Franciscans were now rearing in Alta California was being shaken to its foundation. News was slow in reaching the Spaniards in Alta California, and that brought by the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio*, far from being reassuring, simply added to the difficulties now confronting him nearer at hand. If one thing alone, the rumored contemplated abandonment of the port of San Blas, should be carried out, a deathblow would be dealt the whole undertaking! Another thing: there was another viceroy, and had been for a year, but who could say what manner of man he was? Would his policy be that of Croix, favorable to the Alta California establishments, or inimical to the great enterprise?

In Serra's reasonings, many things were now unknown quantities that could only be represented by an x; but, in Alta California, where he himself was, there was to him a known quantity: Fages, the lieutenant governor, who was not only nullifying their work there but seemed, also, to have it in his power to undermine their influence at the viceregal court itself, for the *padres* felt that they had been basely misrepresented in that quarter in the matter of the desertions of the year before—and suspected Fages! There was another worry: the Dominicans, the rival "Black Friars," who had long since petitioned to share the work in the Californias, were about to be granted permission to invade the field of the Franciscan order. Serra was, of course, not aware that this problem had already been solved to the entire satisfaction of all concerned.

While, as to himself, Serra was absolutely humble, he would brook no interference in matters touching upon his life's work; and where, as in this case, any hesitation on

his part might mean failure, he was unflinching in his purpose, and relentless toward whosoever might seek to stand in his way. He now determined that Don Pedro Fages should be removed as military commander of Alta California and Lieutenant Governor of the Californias,—and that, right speedily!

Whatever Fages may or may not have done, in permitting the misconduct of the soldiers to continue,—if, indeed, he could have put a stop to it,—and in not founding at Serra's behest Mission San Buenaventura and the new missions farther north, with or without soldiers to protect them from the Indians, it is very certain that, at that time, in the now open clash between the two, the question long and carefully held in diplomatic abeyance, as to which should control where spiritual and temporal affairs met in connection with the missions, was ruthlessly dragged forth, as it never had been before, into the pitiless light of day, there to remain, to be, from time to time, vindictively fought over! Certain it is, also, that Fages was but following the trend of the time.

It is somewhat startling to discover that the Franciscan College of San Fernando was not in full sympathy, not even in harmony, with the idea; was, in fact, antagonistic to the founding of the new missions contemplated for the Californias; and, moreover, was not at all enthusiastic over those already established. All of this is clearly set forth in letters written by the guardian of the college, Fray Rafael Verger.

He, as the head of the college, founded, in 1524, for the training of missionaries for the spreading of the faith—*de Propaganda Fide en la Nueva España*—was the one to whom Franciscans in the Californias were subject. Yet, by reason of the organization of the Spanish union of Church and State, it was not to him but to the viceroy that petitions for the sending of missionaries into the field must

be addressed; and, in accordance with the royal decree of October 13, 1733, this college was obliged to send missionaries at the request of the viceroy. It will readily be seen that such a request was in reality a command and this was fully recognized by Verger.

In these letters, he is expressing his opinions for whatever weight they might carry with them,—and, also, putting himself on record.

Translations vary with the translators, but differences in these are observable in nothing of outstanding importance, and, without much difficulty, by comparing and sifting, it seems possible to arrive at essentials.

He had much to say about Baja California, which he speaks of as “a wretched, unhappy land,” from which it was impossible to supply Alta California; that the Peninsula had been settled seventy-five years and could not raise enough animals or agricultural products for its own use; that the taking of more than five hundred head of cattle from these missions for those in Alta California had been to their very great detriment; and that the Peninsula missions “never had been, were not, and never would be substantial foundations” (Chapman).

Only what is said in these letters of Alta California mission affairs would be pertinent except that, even under such radically different conditions, in the attitude of the college toward establishments in both Californias, they become so closely interrelated that much that is written of those in the one serves as an illuminant to a clearer understanding of those in the other. No shadow of doubt is left in regard to the position of the college as to missions already established or those in contemplation.

In the *carta primera*—first letter—of June 30, 1771, to Don Manuel Lanz de Casafonda, *fiscal* of the Audiencia of Mexico, Verger writes: “In no manner has this college approved the founding at one time so many and such missions. If missionaries have been sent, it has been perforce

and because we have not been able to resist him that commands us with power absolute, admitting neither supplication nor argument . . . ' " (Richman, note). And, from Engelhardt: " 'One thing is certain, this enterprise goes forth without the prudence, the deliberation, and precaution which always has been observed in similar undertakings. Unless God, our Lord, co-operates by means of miracles, a happy issue cannot be expected' " (note).

He was very scathing in what he wrote of Gálvez, among other things that he "would claim . . . to have taken measures to insure their permanence. In a few years they would fail, and the missionaries would be blamed. The missions of Baja California were already as good as dead, and those of Alta California were missions in name only" (Chapman).

In the famous *carta segunda*—second letter—dated August 3 of the same year, referring to the constant prodding of Gálvez, he writes: " 'Hardly had the [forty-five] padres reached this college, when the *visitador* and (in consequence) the Viceroy desired them to start for California. . . . already the padres had been ninety-nine days on the way from Spain, and half of them were ill and all debilitated' " (Richman, note).

In this letter, he writes of Serra, of his " 'learning and beautiful endowments,' " with a full understanding of all he has cast aside to go among the " 'wretched gentiles' " and teach them with the enthusiasm evinced in his letter; but that " 'Nevertheless, it is necessary to moderate his ardent zeal somewhat.' 'No obstante es preciso moderar algo su ardiente zelo' " (Engelhardt), which may be translated in several ways.

He is very outspoken in commenting on Serra's statements. For instance, in reviewing the Indian situation and the need of more soldiers, he says, in substance, that their apparent submission was little to be trusted; and, as for those along the line of march from Velicatá, they were not

peaceful as Serra had reported, but were simply biding their time; that there had been a fight and ten Indians were killed; and, as for what had happened at San Diego, on August 15, 1770, when Serra had "reported that no Indians were killed, . . . three were, and two died later."

Verger's conclusions as to missions in the Californias, as expressed in the *carta segunda*, Chapman regards as "a good exposition" which "tends to counterbalance the more optimistic (although not inaccurate) accounts of Father Serra"

That their views did not coincide has been demonstrated; especially in the founding of missions, there was a wide divergence. Again, in substance, Verger said, with a touch of sarcasm, that in founding missions there should be an understanding of "the verb to found, which did not mean to paint pretty pictures (*pintar perspectivas*)."

He alluded to the missions as "'appearances'" and "the mere shadow of great works"; also, that it was just as Padre Paterna had written: San Diego was in its third year and was "not yet worthy of being called a mission" (*ibid.*).

Although opposed to missions on unsound foundations, as he considered those in Alta California, and to the meager sums likely to be allowed for their upkeep, and opposed to the number of missions proposed for immediate founding, with inadequate means for the transportation of supplies, Verger's criticisms were not entirely destructive; but, on the contrary, were often constructive.

In the various letters, he offered many suggestions in case plans, as then announced, were to be carried out, based upon information contained in letters from Serra, Palou, Crespi, Ortega, and others, buttressing his arguments with material from the same source.

That Serra delayed not at all in carrying out his intention of setting in motion machinery that would result in the summary removal of Fages from his path was to be

expected, and the first turn of the wheel may be observed "After a High Mass on October 13th Fr. Serra, therefore consulted with the two Fathers stationed at San Diego' (Engelhardt), and the outcome was that the *padre presidente* was to go, himself, to Mexico, and at once! His purpose is set forth clearly in a letter from him to Fray Francisco Palou, dated October 17, that he had "'determined to journey to Mexico in order to obtain from His Excellency such measures as were expedient for the welfare of the missions for the reason that Captain Fages created nothing but pain, disgust, and discouragement for the religious without any benefit to the missions'" (*ibid.*).

On October 20, therefore, the *padre presidente* sailed on board the *San Carlos*, and arrived at San Blas on November 4, 1772.

XII

In Mexico, meanwhile, there had been changes in office important to the Californias.

The Marqués de Croix had asked to be relieved and had been succeeded as Viceroy of New Spain by Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa. This was not his full name, by any means. He had others—many—as befitted his station in life, for he was of the most exalted nobility in Spain and Italy. On the paternal side, he was descended from a Florentine family numbering among its members three popes and six cardinals; on the maternal, the Ursúas were of high rank and related to several ducal families. His titles, acquired and by birth, were many, also, and, together, names and titles present a formidable list to inflict upon a reader. But the reader has privileges, and may skip, if so minded. The writer has no such prerogative, especially one writing, even in ever so light a vein, of matters historical, and may not slightly deprive so good and so great a man of that which was rightfully his. Often signing simply “Bucareli”—or strictly speaking, “Bucarely,” for so his autograph seems to be—in certain formal state papers, he was: “The Knight Commander of the Order of Malta, Brother Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, Enestrosa, Laso de la Vega, Villacis y Córdova, Knight, Grand Cross, and Commander of the Vault of Toro in the Order of St. John, Gentleman of the Chamber of His Majesty, with right of entrance, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of the Kingdom of New Spain, President of its Royal *Audiencia*, Superintendent General of the Royal Estate and the Branch of Tobacco, Judge Conservator of the latter,

President of its *Junta*, and Subdelegate General of the Ren of the Mails in the same Kingdom."

Bucareli was an Andalusian, born in Seville. He entered the military service of Spain as a cadet, rising steadily distinguishing himself by gallantry in Italy and Spain, winning recognition in engineering and as inspector general of cavalry. Apparently, success came easily; but there is no riddle to solve—he was at all times keenly interested in his work, and an indefatigable worker possessed of great ability. Honors were his without asking; one, at least, the greatest, was thrust upon him. He was Governor and Captain General of Cuba, when, in recognition of his services to the Crown, he was appointed Viceroy of New Spain. This was a promotion he would rather not have received, as he was most anxious to return to Spain. Far from being inordinately ambitious, he was little so, but gave of himself without stint in an unswerving devotion to duty.

Gathering up, with a rapidity little short of marvelous, affairs of state laid down by Croix, with rare perception Bucareli mastered the intricacies of the many problems presented to him for solution, problems that would have daunted one less able.

One matter, vastly important to Alta California, came to his attention in a memorial under date of May 2, 1772, from Juan Bautista de Anza, commanding the Presidio of Tubac, asking permission to open a way into Alta California, and reiterating the long-known need for an overland route to the northwest coast across the Gila and Colorado rivers. A road to Baja California had been sought around the head of the gulf, but no attempt had been made since the Jesuit *padres*, Eusebio Kino and Juan María Salvatierra, had, in 1701, struggled bravely toward that end, failing for want of provisions. All that hung in the balance: the great need for opening a way from Sonora—a land of plenty—to the rescue of the establishments in

Alta California, as well as the reason no road had so far been opened, seems to have been well understood by the new viceroy. Before the Anza letter, or memorial, had been received, Bucareli had been considering the feasibility of such a venture, and had already, in a letter to Governor Sastre, of Sonora, asked for his opinion in the matter.

The name of Hermenegildo Garcés now enters the story. He was a Franciscan friar from the College of Santa Cruz, at Querétaro, stationed at Mission San Xavier del Bac, north of the Presidio of Tubac. During several years, he had wandered about among the various Indian tribes, far and wide, much of the time alone, with only belongings enough to be carried by one horse, jotting down happenings and inferences in his diary. These experiences and conclusions, together with letters on the same subject from other persons, were included in an *expediente*—all documents in an official file in a given case—and forwarded to Don Julián de Arriaga, under date of March 25, 1772.

From the first, Bucareli was interested in Alta California, and did not delay in the matter of the Anza memorial, but gave it his immediate and careful attention, referring it on May 6 to the royal *fiscal*—attorney general—Don José de Areche, who reported favorably upon it. By viceregal decree of August 26, Anza's petition was submitted to Don Miguel Costansó, who had accompanied the 1769 expedition to Monterey. He "returned a very important report, September 5, 1772. He estimated the distance between Tubac and Monterey as 180 leagues in a straight line." He said ". . . the Indians certainly did communicate with each other. He himself had seen implements at the Santa Barbara Channel, such as knives . . . and other things, which had come from Spanish soldiers in New Mexico, not brought directly, but passed from hand to hand, as the Indians were too hostile to one another to stray far from their native land. A pass would have to be found through

mountain ridges between the Colorado River and the Pacific Ocean; the mountains were certainly extensive and rough but if the Indians crossed them, Spaniards could. Pioneers' tools, such as lvers, spades, and pickaxes should be carried, however The utility of such a route was unquestionable. . . . It was a long, arduous voyage from San Blas, and the boats were too small to permit of transporting families. Thus, Spaniards in San Diego and Monterey must remain unmarried. On the other hand, Sonora produced every kind of grain and fruit, and the distance was not excessive, wherefore provisions and families might be sent from Sonora, giving the new settlements greater solidarity than they then had" (Chapman).

In Anza's letter of May 2, the name of Garcés constantly appears, and he asks that in case he be granted the permission prayed for, he be permitted to take Garcés with him, and twenty or twenty-five soldiers from his own *presidio*, a sufficient number for his enterprise. The name of Garcés again appears in Areche's report of October 12, 1772, which was, in part, as follows: ". . . that the expedition be authorized, since Anza was to undergo the expense. Garcés should go, too, and the tools suggested by Costansó should be taken. Anza was entitled to praise for suggesting the expedition, for it would be a great advantage to have a better route than . . . by way of San Blas or Loreto. It would help the missions and presidios of Alta California, and those of Sonora as well, by giving the latter a market for its products. . . . This would reduce the burden on the royal treasury in maintaining the new establishments, a very great one with no better routes than the two maintained at the time. The only objection to the project was the withdrawal of troops from Tubac, they being needed against the Apaches, but this could be overcome by . . . supplying their places until Anza's return" (*ibid.*). Some time in the preceding year, 1771, Anza had written a letter to Garcés, which had been

passed from one Indian to another, until, finally, it had been delivered to the *padre*, far away in the wilds. The two were in entire accord in the matter of an expedition for the exploration and discovery of a way from Sonora to Monterey; and Garcés had, in August of the present year, already applied to the *presidente* of his college, Padre Gil de Bernabé, at Querétaro, for permission to seek a way from Pimería Alta.

Spanish official reports in those days were very voluminous affairs, covering many pages and going into great detail; and sometimes, in a not very important matter, taking a whole day to read; but, even so, and notwithstanding, it was not unusual for officials to ask for further information and greater detail! More than the usual preparations had been made for the enlightenment of the *junta* to which the Anza memorial was to be submitted, called by the viceroy to convene on October 17, 1772, and everything possible to obtain relating to the subject had been collected.

The *junta* was convened on the date named, but, notwithstanding the enormous *dossier* prepared with such elaboration of detail, it was decided that more information would be necessary before official action could be possible! Resolutions adopted were, in part, as follows: The opinion of Garcés "should be asked, and a copy of his 1771 diary should be sent for; the *expediente* should be sent to Governor Sastre, and his opinion asked, whether Anza's undertaking would disturb the peace of that government; Anza should be thanked for the zeal which his proposal indicated; and a copy of the papers should be sent to the king. Bucarely concurred in the decision, and wrote presently for the reports requested, writing at length also to Arriaga, October 27, 1772, reciting the course of Anza's petition and forwarding a *testimonio* [a bound file of official documents] . . ." (*ibid.*). October 17, the date of the order

that an *expediente* be forwarded to Governor Sastre, being only two days prior to October 19, the date of a letter received from him in reply to one from the viceroy requesting his opinion as to the practicability of opening a way from Sonora to Monterey, under date of March 18, a month and more before the date of the Anza memoria of May 2, it will be seen that this letter from Sastre was in no way a reply to the similar request of the lately adjourned *junta*. In this letter to Bucareli, he wrote that an attempt to reach Monterey by Garcés, if successful, would be advantageous; that Padre Zalazar had intimated that he did not believe the Indians would let Garcés through, but that he, Sastre, "believed that he would be successful, and should be permitted to try his project" (*ibid.*). The viceroy sent a copy of the letter to Arriaga, and wrote, himself, giving his reasons for calling a *junta*, namely: to decide on the petition of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, of the Presidio of Tubac. On January 13, 1773, he acknowledged the receipt of the Sastre letter, quoted above.

Affairs were about at this stage in the matter of the overland way across the Gila and Colorado rivers into California, when Fray Junípero Serra arrived at the capital.

He had landed at San Blas on November 4, after a voyage of only fifteen days from San Diego. A few days later, on his way to Mexico City, at the Franciscan *hospicio* at Tepic he heard, it is supposed for the first time, that the College of San Fernando, which had been put in control of the California missions at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, had ceded all the missions on the Peninsula to the Dominicans. In that way, the Franciscans in that field, experienced in missionary work among the Indians, would be available for the work in Alta California. Palou, in charge of the Baja California missions, had already been notified and had despatched two

friars with the news to Alta California; but, evidently, they had not arrived before the departure of the *padre presidente*.

This matter had been brewing since 1768, when the Dominicans petitioned Carlos III of Spain to be given a license to found establishments on the west coast. The Franciscans had not opposed; and, in fact later, in 1771, the Guardian of the College of San Fernando had suggested to the viceroy that the Dominicans, or some other order, should share in the work in Baja California. De Croix opposed the idea, fearing a clash between the two orders. However, a division of the territory had already been commanded in a royal *cédula*, April 8, 1770; and two years later, April 7, 1772, a *concordato* was signed, fixing, about fifteen leagues below San Diego, a line of apostolic demarcation between Alta and Baja California.

In a correspondence between Padre Palou, in charge of the missions in Baja California; Paterna, acting *presidente* in Alta California during Serra's absence; the guardian, Verger, at the College of San Fernando; and Serra, himself, at Tepic, it was decided that of those missionaries then stationed at the Peninsula missions, ten should be sent north, including the two already at San Diego, leaving eight to go later.

Padre Francisco Palou was a bone of friendly contention, being desired by Verger, who hoped he would elect to return to the college, and by Serra, who wrote that he hoped to read Palou's name among those who were to go to Alta California; "and lo!" like Abou Ben Adhem's, his "name led all the rest."

Proceeding, both Fray Junípero Serra and the Indian boy, Juan Evangelista, were stricken with a malignant fever at Guadalajara, and were so seriously ill that the last sacrament was administered; but both recovered and continued the journey. When the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz,

at Querétaro, was reached, about fifty leagues from the capital, the *padre presidente* suffered a relapse and was "given up to die." Whereupon, another physician was summoned who ridiculed the idea, saying: "'And is this the reverend father to whom the last sacrament is to be administered? It might as well be administered to me. . . . He . . . may rise whenever he will'" (Hittell).

A few days later, Serra resumed his journey, reaching the College of San Fernando, according to Hittell, on "February 6, 1773, very tired, very much reduced and very weak but otherwise . . . in good spirits." Upon arrival, he received the blessing of his superior, Fray Rafael Verger. Shortly after, he was given audience by the viceroy.

In order to place matters concerning his work in Alta California in their true light—according to his way of thinking—before the viceroy, who might, for aught he knew, be friend or foe; and to seek relief from the ever-increasing and harassing difficulties surrounding him, Serra had made the long journey to Mexico. Now that he was there and in the presence of the viceroy, he knew but little more of the mental attitude, toward him and all that he represented, of the man before whom he stood! Fortunately, this man to whom he had come with his very real difficulties and also his grievances, was Bucareli, and was, himself, earnestly seeking the light and striving to solve these very problems; but, so far, he had not been able to disentangle to his entire satisfaction truth from falsehood, in the complaints and counter-complaints coming to him from and about the Californias.

The viceroy received him graciously, and Serra, gifted with eloquence, laid bare his heart. Bucareli gave very careful attention, and asked him to present such matters as he wished him further to consider officially, in the form of a memorial; to include an expression of opinion in the matter of an overland route across the Gila and Colorado

rivers into Alta California; and to set forth his reasons for the nonabandonment of the port of San Blas.

Serra had made a very special plea that supplies should be sent at once to Alta California, which had received nothing from Mexico for several months, and to this the viceroy promised to give his immediate attention.

In a note, Chapman says: "Serra's complaint against Fages came at a time when it was apt to be heard favorably. Shortly before, December 2, 1772, Bucarely had written to Fages remarking upon the latter's failure to give an account of conditions at the presidio and missions, and requesting him in future to report all that occurred." On the other hand, the *comandante* was not an ungenerous antagonist to Serra, for it appears that "Serra had received from California a certificate from Fages dated Monterey, Dec. 22, 1772, to the effect that the missions were all supplied with padres and that Serra had left on business connected with his work" (Bancroft, note). From the date, it may be seen that Serra had not brought the certificate with him, nor could he have sent back for it; consequently, it was sent after him and, it would appear, voluntarily.

The *visitador*, Don José de Gálvez, had held Don Pedro Fages in very high esteem, but was not now in Mexico.

Mention has been made of the long illness prostrating the *visitador* soon after his arrival in Sonora, and from which he did not recover for many months,—acute stages of a malignant fever of the country being followed by short periods of apparent recovery, and these in turn by relapses. His ravings during delirium seem to have been "Set in a note-book, learn'd and conn'd by rote" by his secretaries and others about him. Greatly alarmed by his condition, various letters were written to friends and to the viceroy, ill-advisedly stating that the *visitador* was insane, having suffered "civil death or loss of reason." This, Gálvez did not overlook upon recovery, and severe punishment was

relentlessly meted out to those who—once the stigma of insanity had been put upon him—would undoubtedly have caused his retirement from office and his permanent undoing.

None of this need be gone into here, as the whole matter is fully set forth in Herbert Ingram Priestley's masterly monograph: *José de Gálvez*. In the nature of a summing up, Priestley says: "The Sonora campaign was a severe trial to the strength of many of its official members. Before it was over Pineda, Beleña and Gálvez all suffered from discomforting maladies. Lorenzo Cancio, one of the captains, died before he could leave the country. It was not surprising that Gálvez should contract fever from the exposures of camp life, nor that he should be unbalanced mentally during high fevers. Unfortunately, after the fevers left him his mental equilibrium was not speedily restored. But when he did recover, the fact that he retained the confidence and friendship of the viceroy and the favor of the King might have made him more magnanimous towards inferiors who had done him no intentional harm, and who were loyal to him." Prior to this, he says: "The account of Viniegra of the insanity of Gálvez is the story of an eye-witness. While it is a rancorous document, it is worthy of credence, as is borne out in essential respects by the story of Beleña"

With apologies, it does not seem possible quite to agree with some of the deductions. In the writer's opinion, it should not be lost sight of that Viniegra's letter *was* "a rancorous document," nor that Beleña had every reason for having no very kindly feeling toward the *visitador*, and, in fact, was a man with a very real and personal grievance, if not a grudge!

The *visitador* returned to the capital late in May or early in June, 1770. On July 26, he wrote to Arriaga, asking permission to return to Spain, but nothing to the point could be obtained from the king. In May of the next

year, 1771, his request was urged for the second time, by his brother, Miguel de Gálvez, in Madrid. Permission was then accorded, grudgingly, with the specification that he was to remain at his post until three to four months after the arrival of the newly appointed viceroy. Six months' salary was advanced him and his request acceded to that upon his return he might be accompanied by his nephew, Bernardo de Gálvez, and the Bethlehemite friar, Joaquín de la Trinidad, who had been with him during a part of his illness, having been sent from Mexico to act as his physician while en route to the capital. It was he who said the *visitador* "was far more sane than his secretaries and wrote to the viceroy to that effect" (Priestley).

Bucareli arrived in September, 1771. Croix having asked and been given permission to return to Spain with Gálvez, the *visitador* and the former viceroy departed, sailing at the end of November of the same year from Vera Cruz; and, after a voyage of eighteen days, arrived at Havana. There, they were held port bound by contrary winds until April 8 of the following year, 1772. On May 21, they reached Cádiz.

"Proceeding at once to Madrid, Gálvez was received with honor by the King; his personal debts to Echeveste incurred in Sonora, to the amount of 30,000 pesos, were ordered paid from the treasury. It was not long until he began to serve actively in his capacity as a member of the Council of the Indies, he having been honored with an appointment to that body before he had gone on the expedition to Sonora" (*ibid.*).

Prior to his appointment as Viceroy of New Spain, Francisco Carlos de Croix had served in the army with distinction, having attained the rank of *Capitan General*. Upon his return from Mexico, he was appointed Viceroy of the Kingdom of Valencia, remaining in office until his death in 1786.

XIII

The outlook in the Californias had been far from favorable, and no very attractive picture of conditions had been presented to the new viceroy in the complaints greeting him from both sides in the disputes rife there, coming since and waxing steadily. Reading between the lines of these memorials, he had envisioned the establishments in Alta California tottering on unstable foundations and, apparently, about to fall, while still no more than the beginnings of the contemplated structures. In a letter to Arriaga, dated a little later—May 27, 1773,—Bucareli writes: “‘No subject of the many that this very vast government produces has given me more to do than the regulation of the Department of San Blas and the *Península de Californias* [Alta California being still included under that designation]’ ” (Chapman).

Although in Alta California the missions were being held together in any way they could be, affairs at the capital pertaining to them were not allowed by Bucareli to remain at a standstill. Indeed, in retrospect, the year 1773 stands out as very important in their development.

“In order that Fr. Serra might have the merit of religious obedience in drawing up the paper to be presented to Viceroy Bucareli, Fr. Guardian Rafael Vergér of the College, under date of March 9th, 1773, formally commanded him to prepare a full and truthful statement” (Engelhardt, note). The completed document was dated March 13, 1773, and was presented to the viceroy with a letter, or, according to Engelhardt, an address, in part as follows: “‘Your Excellency,—I place this document into your hands.

From it Your Excellency will see that what I state is the plain truth, and that what I set forth, as it seemed to me, I had to say in conscience, because I consider it very important and necessary in order that the object which His Majesty has in view by going to such great expense may be accomplished. . . . I hope that Your Excellency will read it, and that you will determine what you may judge to be right and expedient without delay, as I am obliged to return and wish to do so as soon as possible. May what I ask be granted, in which case I shall return very contented; if it is not granted, I shall go somewhat saddened, but always entirely conformed to the will of God.' "

This *representación*—a presentation in proper form—of matters already laid before Bucareli by Serra, in person, was a most important document, and, as formulated, under thirty-two heads, bears witness to his ability. On March 16, the petition was referred to Areche, the *fiscal*, who reported favorably, and on May 6, it was submitted with Areche's report to the Board of War and Finance.

At that time, a plan was being pushed, backed by the statement that the harbor of San Blas was filling with sand, to transfer the base of supplies to Guaymas farther up the coast, transshipping goods across the gulf to San Luis Bay, and sending them from there overland into Alta California by pack train. Seeking information, as was his way, in his conscientious endeavor to find the truth, Bucareli instructed Serra to formulate, separate, and apart from the *representación* proper, his reasons for his opposition to this plan and his vigorous urging of the retention of San Blas as a base of supplies for the Californias. And, under date of April 22, 1773, he did so, most praiseworthily. His arguments were clear and unanswerable, and, briefly and in substance, were: That to transport provisions eight hundred leagues by land and two hundred leagues by sea, taking probably two years, was not only difficult but practically impossible; were it otherwise possible, it would

require some fifteen hundred mules, one hundred horses, and one hundred guards and *arrieros*. He brought out the fact that the cost would be far greater—more than the allowance for Alta California for a whole year. He said he did not expect ever to see a successful supply route up the Peninsula. He pointed out that with the passing and repassing of pack trains, because of the character of the men usually in charge, the aborigines would become brutalized and hardened, and, because of their own propensity to steal and rob, with this new temptation constantly thrust before them, totally demoralized, so that, perhaps, they could not be redeemed, and thus the spiritual conquest would be retarded.

His reasoning so convinced the viceroy that he gave orders that the port of San Blas was to be maintained, at least for the present, until the king's pleasure in the matter could be known. The document was then forwarded to the king, and all this before the *junta* had convened to consider such matters as had been brought to the attention of the viceroy by the *padre presidente*.

A third paper requested, and prepared by Fray Junípero, was a report on the missions, of conditions in detail existing at the time of his departure from Alta California in September of the year before, and this, also, was submitted, under date of May 21, 1773.

Serra's memorial—*representación*—together with a favorable report from the royal *fiscal*, was submitted to the *junta de guerra y real hacienda*—board of war and finance—and the result, as set forth in Bancroft's most excellent summary, will be drawn upon and still further summarized: "By the decision [of the *junta*, to which it was submitted on May 6, 1773] the commandant was required to transfer from the mission guard to the presidio, at the minister's request, any soldier of irregular conduct and bad example, and this without the padre being obliged

to name or prove the soldier's offence; the missionaries were to have the right to manage the mission Indians as a father would manage his family, and the military commandant should be instructed to preserve perfect harmony with the padres; property and letters for the friars or missions were to be forwarded separately instead of being enclosed to the presidio commander; and the friars' correspondence was not to be meddled with, passing free of mail charges like that of the soldiers. . . . Serra was to receive his regular pay . . . during his whole absence from California. [But his expenses were not allowed.] Contributions of food . . . were to be forwarded expressly for the missions, and Governor Barri was not to hinder the removal of the church property at Velicatá. Sailors might be enlisted at San Blas and employed as laborers at the missions, . . . regular crews of the transports must not be interfered with. Two blacksmiths, two carpenters, with some tools and material were to be sent from Guadalajara for the exclusive use of the missions. Seven additional bells were to be furnished, four of them having already been sent to Monterey. Additional vestments were to be sent to take the place of soiled, worn, and 'indecent' articles contained in some of the cases from Baja California."

It may be said, just here, that some of the "soiled, worn, and 'indecent' articles" referred to were the vestments left by the banished Jesuit *padres*, which Don José de Gálvez—than whom no one had the welfare of the Alta California missions more at heart—had caused to be gathered up and sent to the missions in that wild land, where mass was still celebrated in huts built of palisades daubed with mud. The vestments asked for by Fray Junípero were many and vastly different!

To continue: "San Blas measures were to be adjusted . . . and a full set of standards sent to each mission. Greater care was to be taken in packing food for California Cattle for the proposed missions were to be

under the temporary care of the missionaries, who might use their milk. A new surgeon was to be sent in the place of Prat, deceased, and finally a copy of the junta's decision was to be given to Serra, that the missionaries might hereafter act understandingly."

Serra was "charged to return as soon as possible to his post, after having made a complete report on the condition of each mission." On May 21, as has been said, he "presented, as required, a full report on the California missions, giving the history of each from its foundation and its condition in September 1772."

Out of Serra's thirty-two requests, two had been disposed of before the convening of the *junta*; eighteen had been granted and part of another. Out of the eleven remaining, one was executed by the king; two were left to the viceroy to decide; four postponed until the reorganization of the military should be effected, as ordered by royal decree the year before; three were to be dealt with under forthcoming regulations, or disposed of by the viceroy; and one was granted later.

It has been my purpose to bring about the understanding that a way overland into Alta California across the Gila and Colorado rivers had been repeatedly urged and long in contemplation, but, for various reasons already touched upon, had not, so far, been possible.

It has been my purpose, also, to call attention to the fact that the man who could break a way from Sonora to the northwest coast through the country of Apaches, Seris, and other Indians usually on the warpath; across unknown wilds, burning, sandy wastes of desert without water, and through mountain passes leading no one knew where, was far more difficult to secure than the necessary mandate from king or viceroy, or even, *mirabile dictu*, money with which to finance the enterprise! In the year 1737, such a man had appeared in Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, of the Presidio

of Fronteras, who had petitioned to be allowed to undertake the venture at his own expense. The value—nay, the necessity—of a route entirely overland, to aid in protecting the northwest coast should the menace of foreign encroachment become a reality, although there were as yet no settlements, was beginning to make itself felt; and now the man who could accomplish the needed result was ready. It seemed as though the petition would be granted and the attempt at last made, but Captain Anza was killed by the Apaches and, once more, the matter sank out of sight.

Again, in 1769, a man presented himself in the person of another Juan Bautista de Anza, the son of the first, and petitioned Don José de Gálvez to be allowed to lead an expedition over the same trackless land to meet the sea division of the *expedición santa* at Monterey; but, because of the Indian situation, about as bad at that time as possible, it was not thought advisable to withdraw Anza from the Presidio of Tubac, and the offer was declined by the *visitador*. An expedient, fully detailed elsewhere in these pages, was resorted to—a way up the Peninsula—and found, as had been expected, absolutely inadequate, even in conjunction with the supply boats from San Blas, to meet the needs of the new establishments in Alta California.

Frontiersmen of a fine type were these Anzas—three generations in the service of the king—grandfather, father, and son! The first of whom we have record served for thirty years as lieutenant and captain at the Presidio of Janos; his son, Juan Bautista de Anza, for twenty years in the same capacities at the Presidio of Corodeguache de Fronteras, acting, also, for a time as temporary governor of the province. “In the latter capacity he had merited and won general approval, especially by breaking up an Indian conspiracy in 1737. In that year one Arisivi, an Indian, claimed to be a herald of Montezuma, saying that the latter had come back to life to restore the Mexican Empire.” Anza promptly “hanged Arisivi and several of

his followers, which ended the revolt" (Chapman). In his connection with the *bolas de plata* incident, we have seen how faithfully he endeavored to safeguard the interests of the king. The son of this Juan Bautista de Anza—also Juan Bautista—was born at Fronteras, in 1735. He entered the service as a volunteer at the age of eighteen, becoming a lieutenant on July 1, 1755, and taking part in a campaign against the Apaches in 1758. "On February 19, 1760, he was promoted to the captaincy of the presidio of Tubac, but, owing to the death of Viceroy Amarillas, the appointment had never been confirmed. Bancroft refers to a campaign by Anza in 1760 against the Seris, and to another of 1766 against the Apaches. One of Anza's principal achievements was the subjecting of the Pápagos, a tribe of over three thousand Indians, on which occasion he killed their chief with his own hand. He had made many campaigns in southern Sonora, against the Seris and others In the military operations of Elizondo, Anza was a conspicuous figure" (*ibid.*).

In 1765, the Marqués de Rubí was commissioned to make an inspection of the *presidios* of New Spain; and, of Tubac, he reported, February 21, 1767, writing of Anza that " 'by reason of his activity, valor, zeal, intelligence, and notable unselfishness he is an all-round good officer (*un Complotto ofizial*), worthy of being distinguished by His Majesty in remuneration for his services, and as a stimulus to others.' . . . Not only Anza's accounts, but also the declarations of his soldiers, showed that he had never done anything prejudicial to his troops, but, on the contrary, had always treated them liberally; he had actually reduced prices for them, displaying a generosity which, according to Rubí, was very rare in the frontier provinces" (*ibid.*).

After all this and much more, he petitioned, in 1770, for the full rank of captain which, but for the death of the viceroy, would have been his ten years before; his petition

was recommended by Juan de Pineda and Domingo Elizondo, his immediate chiefs, and also by the viceroy, Francisco Carlos de Croix, in a letter of April 29, 1770, to Arriaga. The petition was referred to General Alejandro O'Reilly—Alexander O'Reilly—an Irishman in the service of Spain, who replied that "as the command of a presidio was a very lucrative one, it ought not to be given too freely, but only as an exceptional reward. He therefore recommended telling Anza that his petition would be borne in mind, and would be granted, if he continued to merit the viceroy's approval. O'Reilly's recommendation was adopted verbatim by Arriaga So for the time being Anza's petition was denied" (*ibid.*). In the face of such a record, he was practically told "to be a good little boy and he'd 'be an angel, by and by.' "

Anza was interested for many years prior to 1772, and while a mere youth, in the venture now held for consideration by the *junta*. Quaintly, Palou tells us that "The said captain, Don Juan Bautista de Anza, was in accord with the desire of his deceased father and just as if the latter might have bequeathed the idea in a clause of his will" (*ibid.*).

In 1769, Anza met Don José de Gálvez and gave him the reasons for his certainty that a route to Alta California by way of Sonora, and across the two rivers, was practicable. In a covert way, Governor Sastre had apparently endeavored to belittle Anza and his project, but, says Chapman, "Of his character and abilities the writer has seen many documents giving praise of the highest kind." Bishop Tamarón, while at Tubac on a diocesan tour in 1763, states that Anza was a married man, having married the sister of the chaplain of the post, José Manuel Díaz del Carpio.

We now have a very full account of Juan Bautista de Anza, the second,—and of his forbears besides,—whose petition to the viceroy, of May 2, 1772, had been held *in*

statu quo by the *junta* called to consider it, to await the receipt of further information asked for by that body at that time. We know what manner of man he was, his disposition and character; none too much to know of the man who seems to be the hero of this part of the story.

While the Bucareli-Sastre correspondence, already referred to, was in progress, in accordance with the action of the *junta* in the matter of the Anza petition held in abeyance since October 17 of the preceding year, and now, in September, 1773, being drawn to a conclusion, Anza, Sastre, and Garcés had all been written to. At that time, Anza was on the Apache frontier, and in his reply to a letter from Bucareli, dated October 28, 1772, wrote, on the 22d of the following January, that before he could answer the viceroy's questions he must consult his memoranda, and should have to be granted leave by Governor Sastre to go to the Presidio of Tubac, where his papers were. On March 7, Anza wrote again to Bucareli from Tubac, and in this letter he wrote much of Garcés, how he had gone alone to the Colorado River, taking nothing more than one horse could carry, and living among the Indians. Nothing much, he said, had been accomplished by the Jesuits in their explorations beyond the Colorado; and that he, himself, did not believe a thing the Jesuits had written, but that Garcés was a man of integrity.

It must be remembered that at that time the Jesuits were in great disrepute, and were commended for nothing—not even for what they really had accomplished! It is significant of this that in the deliberations of this *junta*, not a single Jesuit report bearing upon the subject had been consulted.

The Indian situation was the cause, in part, of the long withholding of a decision in the Anza matter, for during this year, 1773, there had been much restlessness among them in territory that would have to be traversed by the proposed expedition. Of this Anza wrote that "Tubac

was just then busily engaged with the Apaches, who might hinder an advance to the Colorado and Gila . . . " (*ibid.*). He said that the data furnished by Garcés and himself would be ample upon which to base the viceroy's decision. There was no *entente cordiale* between Governor Sastre and Captain Anza, but this was the only way this was ever hinted at by him; except that it might be construed to mean that he did not wish this matter to be controlled by Sastre, when he wrote, as he did in this letter, that in case the viceroy should decide to authorize the expedition, he should ask—" 'the better to be understood' "—that three favors be granted him: that he be sent under direct orders from the viceroy; that the government be ordered to furnish such assistance as he should need, for all of which he would gladly pay out of his own pocket; and that, upon his return, he might deliver his report in person.

Together with a letter dated March 8, from Garcés, came the diaries asked for by the *junta*, copies of which were forwarded by Bucareli to Arriaga. Garcés and Anza seem to have been in entire accord, and, as Garcés had been unable to bring about the consummation of his own desires, he had thrown in his efforts with those of Anza toward the end suggested in Anza's letter to Bucareli of May 2, 1772. On his side, Anza had asked that Garcés be allowed to accompany him, in the event of his petition being granted. Garcés gave many reasons in his letter why the proposed expedition should be authorized, and wrote in the highest terms of Anza, saying: " ' . . . the said captain is exceedingly affable, patient, liberal, well-beloved by the Indians, punctilious in matters of the service, and with no improper habits of life.' " Again, Anza had 'a sufficient fund of discretion to resolve any unforeseen incident . . . and the manners to meet European people or those of other quality' " (*ibid.*). He evidently did not agree with the suggestions of Governor Sastre that either he should go entirely alone or that only Anza should

accompany him; but thought the "considerable force" proposed by Anza would not be so dangerous a proceeding

On June 14, all the documents in the Anza matter were referred by Bucareli to Areche; and two months later, August 14, Areche replied, advising that the same *junta* which had considered the matter in October of the previous year be reconvened that it might reach a conclusion. Everything in connection with the matter that had come to hand since that *junta* had been added to the Anza *dossier*: the correspondence between the viceroy and Governor Sastre; the Garcés diaries; letters from Bucareli to Arriaga; one from Arriaga, expressing approval of all that had so far been done; the Anza and Garcés letters and the opinion of Governor Sastre.

The *junta* was reconvened on September 9, 1773, to consider the Anza proposal. After due deliberation, a resolution was adopted, of which the following is a digest in which it will be seen that, in granting Captain Anza's petition, the "three favors" asked by him had not been forgotten: "Having read the documents named, and having considered the whole matter . . . it was resolved by unanimous agreement: That it was a useful and proper thing to discover a route by way of the Gila and Colorado rivers to the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey, according to the terms that Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza proposes; . . . That he shall be accompanied by the Reverend Father Francisco Garcés, whose advice, on account of his wide experience, shall be taken, for the success of the expedition, . . . and the said Reverend Father Garcés may be accompanied by another religious agreeable to him and of good conduct; That the said captain make no establishment, directing his route to the latitude of Monterey, and from there give an account to His Excellency the Viceroy in minute detail of all that shall have occurred in the journey, . . . ; That once the discovery is accomplished,

the said captain may come to this Court to inform His Excellency of what he shall deem fitting, as he [Anza] proposes; That orders on the subject be sent directly to the said captain, and that the latter may give an account directly to His Excellency of what happens; . . .” (*ibid.*).

On the 13th, the viceroy decreed that the resolution of the *junta* be executed; and on the 26th, he wrote to Arriaga, enclosing a *testimonio* of the proceedings. Every step that was necessary to put the matter on an official basis had been complied with. Other things, such as the approval of the king conveyed to Bucareli by Arriaga, seem to have been merely matters of detail.

Now—“at long last”—all the memorials, petitions, and pleas to the king, stretching away, far into the past, had been answered; and an overland route to the northwest coast of the Californias was to be opened.

XIV

During the year 1773, California affairs occupied a prominent position in the official foreground at the capital of New Spain. With new complications, a new *modus operandi* was necessary. This matter, with its details political, military, and financial, was entrusted to Juan José de Echeveste, an expert, forwarder of supplies from San Blas. According to instructions, he formulated a plan for the government of the Californias, and, on May 19, proposed a provisional *reglamento*, adopted on the 8th day of the following July. On the 23d of the same month, it was confirmed by the viceroy, to go into effect on January 1, 1774.

On August 14, 1773, Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada was appointed to take command in Alta California; and, on August 17, special orders were issued to him, including instructions to make a careful survey of the port of San Francisco with a view to the establishment of a *presidio* and mission. At the time of his appointment, he was in Guadalajara, but hastened to the capital to receive his orders. As issued to him, they were arranged to be used in conjunction with the Echeveste *Reglamento Provisional*. These, with new regulations added from time to time, constituted the law of California for many years. Rivera then went to Sinaloa, recruiting for the Alta California service married men who were to take their families with them.

On September 7, Bucareli wrote to Fages, informing him of the appointment of Rivera and ordering him to return with his company of Catalan Volunteers by the first vessel

departing after he had turned over the command, and to join his regiment at Real de Pachuca.

The removal of Don Pedro Fages, the most impelling of the several reasons for the suddenly-determined-upon journey of Fray Junípero Serra to the capital, had been accomplished, but not entirely to his satisfaction, for he had not been able to control the appointment of his successor. He had suggested that Ortega be given the Alta California command, but in the face of his recommendation, for the good and sufficient reason that Ortega lacked the requisite rank, was only a noncommissioned officer, a sergeant, Rivera had been named. Yet, Serra had gained his point in everything that really mattered, and any on which he "lost out" would seem to have been more than compensated for. The journey had been well worth while and a triumph, not only for Serra, but for the missions—for the missions as against the military had scored!

In comparison with the rich harvest of success he had reaped, the few tares in the wheat were of little importance. He could "return very contented" and not "saddened," and, as a matter of fact, he had every reason to go on his way rejoicing!

In addition to supplies of many kinds: vestments, harness, iron, and a forge, etc., granted officially by the government for the Alta California establishments, the viceroy was very liberal in the way of alms—a *limosna*—for the exclusive use of the missions. There were donations, also, from the piously inclined, the value of the whole running into many thousand *pesos*; there were bales, bolts, and packages of various materials, hundreds of yards: blue baize, blue maguey cloth, striped sackcloth, and one hundred and seven blankets. There were reams of paper, boxes of chocolate, and *panocha*—brown sugar—barrels of lard, jugs of olive oil, maize, beans, and chick-peas, bales of red peppers, barrels of flour; and there were barrels of Cas-

tilian wine and three barrels of brandy! Truly, a long and interesting list.

After the decision of the *junta* had been rendered on May 6, many matters had detained the *padre presidente* at the capital, until it was now the middle of September and he was about to begin the long journey to Mission San Carlos. The story of his departure is best told by Engelhardt: "When at last he saw that he had accomplished the object of his visit, and that in addition he was well provided with supplies, clothing, and presents for the Indians, the happy old man hastened to bid farewell to his brethren. The Fr. Guardian considerably gave him a companion in the person of Fr. Pablo Mugártegui, whom Fr. Serra accepted with delight. The whole community of the College of San Fernando then assembled in the refectory. By permission of the Fr. Guardian the venerable man then kissed the feet of every friar to the amazement and edification of all. He moreover begged pardon of every one for the bad example which he might have given, and then, once more asking the Fr. Guardian's blessing, he set out for San Blas accompanied by Fr. Pablo Mugártegui and the Indian youth whom he had brought from California."

This fifteen-year-old Indian boy, named by the missionaries Juan Evangelista, had been confirmed on August 4, while at the capital, by Archbishop Peralta.

In the matter of the Anza memorial to the viceroy, of May 2, 1772, to what extent was the decision rendered by the *junta* within that month, September, 1773, due to the influence of the *padre presidente* of the Californias, Fray Junípero Serra?

Let us see: We know that the expedition now authorized was no new idea; we know that the subject had been presented to the king in various memorials during the hiatus in the history of Alta California, 1603-1769; that

Anza, father and son, had petitioned in regard to an overland route to the northwest coast; that Bucareli was already interested in the project and seeking information and advice, before the proposal of Captain Anza of the Presidio of Tubac came before him; that the *junta*, convened to consider this proposal, had adjourned to await the Garcés diaries and other information requested, and that some answers had been received at the time of the arrival of Serra at the capital; that at an audience, Bucareli had requested Serra to submit to him a memorial of such matters as had been discussed by them at that time, to include Serra's opinion as to the necessity for an overland route across the Colorado and Gila rivers into Alta California in its relation to the establishments there.

It is evident, from all we know of Serra's reasons for his journey to Mexico, that this had played but a small part, if any; nor, obviously, had he made a special appeal in regard to it. His opinion, as given, was merely included under one of the thirty-two heads in his *representación*. Serra was there on other business: the removal of Fages, first and before all; and the retention, as vital to the success of his work, of the port of San Blas as a base of supplies, a separate petition for which, setting forth his reasons for its retention, was presented to the viceroy. After that, he was assuredly there for anything that would benefit his missions; and, naturally and also efficiently, taking advantage of the opportunity and the friendly reception accorded him by Bucareli, he petitioned at that time for everything that, in his judgment, would stabilize the work already done, or would be conducive to permanence and future welfare.

In the sequence of this digest and deductions drawn from the basic motives for his journey to the capital, Serra's share in influencing the decision of the *junta* in authorizing the Anza expedition does not stand out as tremendously important, and what share he is entitled to seems clear and uncomplicated: Serra's opinion was merely one factor

among many in bringing about the result; or, rather, it would seem uncomplicated had not several writers presented the entire credit to him. The idea is conveyed, and it rather astounds one, that he, and he alone, was—"something behind the throne"—responsible for the viceroy's espousal of the cause and, consequently, indirectly influenced the *junta* to authorize the expedition.

We are taught that desire affects the ground of belief. We know that is true. May not desire, then, explain many a lapse on the part of otherwise conscientious historians? An overweening desire to award the laurel wreath to Serra in any matter reaching a successful conclusion in connection with the Californias of that time has, apparently, subconsciously affected the viewpoint of more than one.

Serra needs no filching of laurels to add to his unquestioned fame!

In connection with the question as to who it was, more than another, who had influenced Bucareli, it is interesting to read an excerpt from a personal letter from him to Fray Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés, in which he says: "'My consent that the expedition should be undertaken has been gained principally through the reports which Your Reverence communicated upon the results of your three successful journeys to the Colorado and Gila rivers'" (Engelhardt).

Except as to the general advisability and the practicability of the undertaking, it may not be going very far afield to surmise that the great executive, Bucareli, reached a decision unaided. Just prior to the convening of the *junta*, the necessity for the overland route grew suddenly imperative. The viceroy was in receipt of what seems to have been secret information that the province was menaced by both Russia and England; and although, to all appearances, this was not regarded with grave concern by Spanish officials, the boggy of foreign encroachment probably played a hand in the game, in the authorization of the Anza expedition

by the *junta*, without the knowledge of some of the participants.

Preparations were also quietly made to reconnoiter the northwest coast.

The Russian approach, now assuming a shape easily envisioned, began as far back as 1578, when Ermák Timoféevich, leading "a life of war and plunder, . . . flying from justice as administered by Ivan Vassilievich II" (Bancroft), led a band of one thousand raiding Cossacks over the Ural Mountains and conquered the little remnant of the Tartar kingdom on the river Ob. Announcing the conquest for Russia and sending a rich gift of sables, he bought his peace with the tsar, who conferred rulership upon him and furnished him with reënforcements.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way," but the Russian advance, thus set on foot, was relentlessly eastward.

The way across Asia was easy for the Cossacks of Russia. "The invaders found it well to divide their forces, and advance in small scattered bodies, a dozen warriors sometimes subjugating a tribe . . ." (*ibid.*). Only a few hundred being "required for the occupation of a river-territory or a kingdom," they established outposts and again advanced, until, at last, sixty years after Ermák turned his face toward the rising sun, another Cossack at the head of a small expedition, Andreï Kopylov, looked out over the Pacific.

Nor did the shores of the great ocean stay the movement. Picking up the story after another eighty years or so, we find great activity by land and sea, caused, according to Bancroft, by the "excessive curiosity of Peter the Great" which "extended further than to ship-building, astronomy, and general geography." However, Peter's death did not give pause to his plans. The government was thoroughly interested in "American Siberia" and his instructions were

faithfully carried out by his wife Catherine and, later, by his daughter Elizabeth.

In 1728, Vitus Bering, a Dane in the service of Russia, sailed through the strait bearing his name, and from his advice plans for trade routes developed. In 1740, an expedition was despatched, one ship being commanded by Bering and another by Aleksēi Chirikov. On July 15, 1741, Chirikov reached the American coast at latitude 55°, returning to Kamchatka in October of that year. Bering made landfall on the American coast at 58°, the vessels having separated. His party was obliged to winter on Bering Island, where he died, his vessel not reaching Kamchatka until 1742. In that year, Chirikov made another voyage, but did not reach America.

Inspiration for other voyages lay in the otter skins brought back, and vessels were sent out as far as the Aleutian Islands, under private enterprise. In 1764, the Russian government was again interested, and the Krenitzin-Levashef expedition of 1766-69 was the result. This expedition got no farther than the Aleutian Islands. In 1771, Levashef returned to St. Petersburg.

In 1773, menace from the English appeared in the person of one Bings, who, it was reported, was preparing to lead an expedition, ostensibly in search of the North Pole, but in reality to the Californias in the interest of England. At this day, there seems nothing to prove that there ever was a Bings' project; and yet, Bings was the reason for many rules and regulations for the protection of Alta California from foreign aggression, such as the following, given to Rivera, August 17, 1773: "The admission of foreign boats into the American ports of the king's dominions is absolutely prohibited by the laws of the Indies, and it is commanded in many royal decrees and orders that this prohibition be observed; and there are also repeated decrees that commerce is not to be permitted, even in Spanish ships,

on the coasts comprised in this viceroyalty, except in the ship from the Philippines, which comes to Acapulco, and the boats in the ship-yard of San Blas for the support of old and new California' " (Chapman).

It was thought advisable for Rivera to explore and occupy the port of San Francisco. A complete inventory of artillery, arms, and ammunition was ordered. It begins to read rather like a joke perpetrated by the viceroy, but was not so meant, that he was to detain ships, take prisoners, guard against surprise and other things, if his forces permitted, when we know how pitifully little, in reality, his forces permitted. These orders were not due to nervous apprehension, but, says Rivera, the historian—not the *comandante*,—to the fact that Bucareli "was ordered to exercise great vigilance over Pacific coast ports," cognizance being taken, in these instructions, of reports of Russian aggression as well as of Bings.

Padre Francisco Palou had been authorized to get together twenty-five native families from the frontier missions and take them to Alta California as colonists upon completion of the transfer of the Baja California missions, and while arranging the final details of the transfer had also been attending to that. Many unnecessary difficulties had presented themselves, both in the indifference of the Dominicans and the open hostility of Governor Barri. It had been very uphill work and was not made easier when, in July, 1773, the weather-worn *San Carlos*, despatched from San Blas months before with supplies for San Diego and Monterey, having been blown almost to Panamá, put in at Loreto without a rudder and leaking, discharged her cargo, and then proceeded on her way to San Blas for repairs.

Because Fages had reported provisions enough to last out the year, and because of the report brought by the unlucky *San Carlos* that the governor was attending to

the matter, Bucareli was not disturbed and gave no further thought to it. But Palou, knowing perhaps that no promise had been made—or knowing Barri and his ways,—felt that great privation would result at the missions in consequence of the nondelivery of the cargo at its proper destination. He, therefore, determined to suspend his recruiting and to go at once to San Diego with as much maize as his mules could carry, leaving the Indian families at Velicatá in charge of Padre Cambón, as well as the cattle and church paraphernalia he had collected. These church belongings and cattle became almost an affair of state, Governor Barri declaring them “stolen goods.” On July 21, with six friars and a guard of fourteen men, he began his journey to San Diego, and on the 26th, sent three soldiers ahead to notify Padre Paterna of their coming.

One of the six friars was Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, a very able man, who, for that very reason, had been assigned to San Francisco de Borja, the most northerly mission founded by the Jesuits, which, being difficult to reach, had been neglected after their banishment. Again, because it was the farthest north, it had been more heavily drawn upon than the others for the Alta California missions. How to keep the mission from going to pieces had been the problem to be solved by him at San Francisco de Borja, the same as at all the missions, except that Padre Lasuén’s problem had been far more difficult and his solution the most brilliant. In 1768, he wrote to Gálvez that the “real need at Borja was not reform or tobacco, but food and clothing, for ‘my children are most numerous, and hungry, and naked.’ In the five months (. . .) that he had been in charge of the mission he had not received a grain of aid from anywhere. . . .

“In 1771 he was able to report that, so far as was known, there was not a single pagan left in the whole district. Notwithstanding a scarcity of water and cultivable land, Father Lasuén had planted vineyards, fig and pomegranate

trees, and some cotton" (Chapman). *Serapes* for the Indians were made of the cotton and blankets were woven of wool. In 1773, when the Dominicans succeeded the Franciscans, inventories showed that "San Francisco de Borja, though by no means a favored spot, had under its control nearly a fourth of the Indians in the missions and more than a fourth of the domestic animals" (*ibid.*).

Although surrounded by humanity—Indians, treacherous, ignorant, and dirty,—Padre Lasuén "held the fort" for five years alone, having no companion missionary as was usual; with no one at all with whom to exchange an idea. For an educated man, a whole lifetime of martyrdom could be compressed into those few years at that desolate frontier mission! On the material side, there were hardships—many. The most pressing need of the poor *padre*, at the time he was ordered to Alta California with Palou, was raiment, he having mended and patched the clothes he had brought with him five years before until there was nothing left with which to cover himself but patches and mending.

On August 19, about five leagues beyond San Juan Bautista and fifteen below San Diego, a large cross was raised with appropriate ceremonies to mark the boundary between Franciscan and Dominican territory, bearing the inscription: "*Division de las misiones de Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo y de Nuestro Padre San Francisco; Año de 1773* [Boundary between the missions of Our Father St. Dominic and Our Father St. Francis; Year 1773]." The raising of the cross was the great event of the journey.

After notifying Padre Paterna of the coming of Palou, the soldiers, sent in advance, had gone on to Monterey to deliver the same message there, and to ask the *comandante*, Don Pedro Fages, for mules to bring up the supplies left by the *San Carlos* at Loreto.

Padre Palou and his party reached San Diego on August 30, having been met and welcomed a long way out on the

road by the two friars from that mission. Relieving Padre Paterna, Palou now took charge pending Serra's return. On September 19, a letter came from Fages, saying he was sending eighty-two mules, all he could get together. These, in charge of Ortega, were sent on south to the Peninsula three days later.

On the 26th, Palou resumed his journey, leaving the friars at their respective stations and inspecting the missions on the way in preparation for the report he had been instructed by the viceroy to make. He was met at San Luis Obispo by Don Pedro Fages, who had not yet been replaced by Rivera y Moncada; and a league from Monterey by Padre Juan Crespí, his old friend and schoolmate.

On November 14, the usual salute was accorded him, followed by much ringing of bells, after which Padre Palou addressed the soldiers, hoping they would set a good example to the natives—a hope that was not likely to be fulfilled!

He then proceeded to Mission San Carlos at Carmelo.

Palou was enthusiastic over being at last at Monterey, a place he had wished to visit ever since reading, more than twenty years before, Torquemada's description of the voyage of Vizcaíno. Moreover, he was willing to stay and devote his entire life to the work there.

Padre Palou's report to the viceroy was dated December 10, 1773.

XV

Receiving word of the decision of the *junta*, followed by the viceregal decree authorizing him to lead an expedition into Alta California, Anza began preparations.

On January 2, 1774, when all was about in readiness, a sudden raid on the *caballada*—horse drove—by Apaches, who stole more than one hundred horses, many of them destined for the expedition, handicapped the undertaking from the beginning.

These raids, in which hundreds of horses were driven away, were no unusual thing, as we have learned from references in the various memorials presented to king and viceroy, from time to time, during a long period of years. Governor Sastre had made vigorous efforts to put a stop to this constant harassing of the frontier by Apaches and other Indians, but principally by Apaches, characteristically swooping down upon first one little settlement, then upon another, where, at the time, the least resistance could be offered. This was very difficult to combat, when a mere handful of soldiers at a *presidio* was the only defense against hordes.

A chain of *presidios* was now being established, with a "flying corps" in connection. A *comandante inspector*, Hugo Oconor, had been appointed, who was to have no fixed abode but was to be where he was most needed, and to direct his attention especially toward the suppression of these raids.

Governor Sastre having died, Francisco Crespo, the new Governor of Sonora, was to aid Anza in making arrangements for the expedition. The stolen horses could not possibly be replaced by any in proper condition for such a

journey, but, nevertheless, on January 8, a start was made from the Presidio of Tubac, and the long-discussed overland expedition into Alta California across the Gila and Colorado rivers was finally on its way.

A few days later, the Presidio of Altar was reached, where a guide was to be added to the personnel—one Sebastián Tarabal, a Baja California Indian, who had accompanied the 1769 expedition. He and his wife had been taken to San Gabriel to live but, tiring of it, had run away with several others, including a brother of Tarabal's wife. All had perished on the desert save Tarabal, who found his way to the territory of the Yuma Indians, one of whose chiefs conducted him to Altar, where he had arrived about a fortnight before.

Anza decided to proceed via Papaguería, the land of the Pápago Indians and free from Apaches. This route had been reported as good, either from Tubac or Altar, to the junction of the two rivers. Having failed to secure horses at Altar, Anza was promised them by Governor Crespo, at Caborca, the last settlement through which he would pass. The expedition was taking four months' provisions, ammunition, and gifts for the Indians, and sixty-five head of cattle were being driven. Neither pack animals nor their own mounts were in good condition, and the horses found at Caborca were utterly unfit; but nothing was allowed to stand in the way.

Besides Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, there were the two friars, Francisco Hermenegildo Garcés and Juan Díaz; Sebastián Tarabal, the Indian who was to act as guide beyond the Yuma territory; one soldier from California, Juan Bautista Valdés, to serve in that capacity at that end of the journey; there were twenty soldiers, not including Valdés; one Pima interpreter and eight other Indians (Anza's two servants, five *arrieros*, and a carpenter):

From Caborca Mission, their road lay across sterile thirty-four persons all told.

Papaguería, where there was little pasturage; and part of it was by way of the terrible *camino del diablo*—devil's road—with no inhabitants and only two *aguages*—places where there was water. The two rivers were finally reached and the crossing successfully made to San Dionisio, Isla de la Trinidad, a kind of island formed by a double channel of the Gila, one of the channels, perhaps, being dry except at high water. From there, on February 9, Anza wrote that no Spanish troops had ever before been so far except the soldiers with the Jesuits, and that on the morrow his expedition would press on beyond where even they had gone.

They were well received by the Yuma Indians, and entertained by Chief Salvador Palma, who had acted as guide to Tarabal. Anza described these Indians as tall and robust, and lighter in color than the Pimas. Among them, it was held to be womanish to cover their bodies and all the men were naked; their faces disfigured with paint; their ears pierced with from three to five holes, each with an earring of its own; and the cartilage of the nose pierced also, with a quill-like stick about eight inches long thrust through, or, in lieu of that, a bunch of feathers. For fear of disturbing the arrangement of their hair, which was dressed with mud, sprinkled with sparkling powder, and then allowed to dry, they were obliged to sleep sitting up! The women were large, also, and neither hideous nor very good looking. They were by way of being agriculturists, their land producing beans, squash, melons, much corn, and wheat better than that grown in Sonora. There were many of these Indians, for he had seen at least two thousand in about a league and a half. They were quite troublesome, hanging around the camp, and, despite all tactful suggestions to the contrary, had insisted upon sleeping there.

On February 10, Anza resumed his march, taking his way down the Colorado River, flowing due west at that

point, accompanied by Palma and by some six hundred Indians who insisted upon driving the horses, each horse having five or six in attendance. The expedition was thus escorted as far as Santa Olalla, the end of the Yuma jurisdiction and the end of the known land. Beyond lay the territory of two fierce and warlike tribes, enemies of the Yumas. At this point, Chief Palma took leave of his new-found friends, promising to have rafts ready upon their return to convey the expedition across the river, which would be in flood at that time.

A letter written by Captain Anza and sent by a Yuma Indian was delivered to Captain Bernardo de Urrea, at the Presidio of Altar, and from there, accompanied by a letter from him, was sent to Governor Crespo, who added another, despatching the sheaf to the viceroy. Bucareli then wrote one under date of May 27, 1774, forwarding copies of the others, enclosed with his, to Arriaga, calling his attention to salient parts: among others, that a Soyopa Indian had told of a western branch of the Colorado, which, perhaps, might be the river flowing into San Francisco Bay. He also wrote to O'Reilly, both letters evidencing deep interest in the attempt and great satisfaction over what had, so far, been accomplished.

Anza had descended the river, hoping to avoid the stretches of sand in which Tarabal had been lost. "These sand-hills of the Colorado desert reach from a point about thirty-five miles north of the [present] boundary line to some ten or twelve miles below it, the tract varying in width from ten to thirty miles. They are greatly dreaded, because their similarity of appearance is most bewildering and the constantly shifting sand quickly obliterates any trail made through them. It was to avoid these that the detour to the southwest into Lower California was made" (Eldredge).

Tarabal was now of no use. Without a guide, the expedition struck out into the desert. With animals unfit from

the start; with unavoidable wastes of sand to traverse; with no pasturage; with little water and that brackish—and, sometimes, none at all,—a time came when Anza saw the fate of other desert travelers pursuing them. He discussed with the two friars the advisability of sending back to the Yuma *ranchería* half the baggage and half the men. Díaz agreed that it was the best thing to do, but Garcés, whose advice Anza had been instructed to follow because of his experience, saw no necessity for such a proceeding.

A terrible day came, February 15, when high sand hills were encountered that could not be negotiated by the exhausted animals, and, to avoid these, the expedition turned to the south. Thereupon, Garcés proposed to find a large *ranchería* in that vicinity which, two years before, he had named *San Jacome*. After several attempts and the wasting of time and fast-waning strength, with the animals dying and some of the men on foot, with the outlook growing rapidly worse, San Jacome had not been located.

Anza now consulted no one, but began a retreat, returning to Santa Olalla and arriving on the 19th. There the expedition remained for some days, resting and recuperating while new arrangements were made.

Garcés obtained a leave of five days, in order to visit some *rancherías* on the lower Colorado; but returned without having found them, these and San Jacome having evidently been abandoned.

Salvador Palma, who had received Anza, upon his return, in the friendliest spirit, was much disturbed over the loss of the animals and the failure of the attempt to cross the Colorado Desert, and readily agreed to Anza's plan to leave half the provisions and all the animals unfit to travel in his charge, with some muleteers and soldiers to care for and guard them. That they would better be left there, entrusted to Palma, than left on the road somewhere, as they surely would have to be, was obvious. According to

his new plan, he would take provisions for one month only—more than enough to reach San Gabriel. Tarabal thought two weeks ample time in which to make the journey, and that, after the first week, there would be both good water and pasturage. No trouble with the Indians was anticipated, for those they had encountered had seemed friendly enough. His men, even after their recent heartbreaking experience, declared they were ready to go with him on foot, if necessary.

Entrusting to Salvador Palma a letter, dated February 28, to be despatched to Bucareli, March 2 saw the greatly reduced expedition, with a *caballería*—pack train—now numbering only eleven packs, again on the march. Two days were given to a march down the river and, on the 4th, a turn toward the mountains was made. A Cajuenche Indian was now their guide. At one place, they came upon a body of salt water with quantities of sea fish in it, which Anza thought must be a backwater of the Gulf of California, some thirty leagues away.

The usual desert tragedies were encountered: bad water and no water; poor pasturage, when there was any, with sick animals in consequence. At last, when potholes were found filled up, their Cajuenche guide took to his heels, leaving them to whatever their fate might be!

At last, some good wells were reached, where there was an abundance of fine water, and Tarabal began to get his bearings and to recognize landmarks. These wells, which Anza named *Pozos de Santa Rosa de las Lajas*—Wells of St. Rose of the Flat Rocks—could have been reached in two forced marches from Santa Olalla, whereas the expedition had struggled for six days on the way.

Now came another wearisome desert march, the men on foot leading their horses; then wet land, a large *ciénega*, was reached: “—the sink of the San Felipe river—at the base of the San Jacinto mountains, the western wall of the [Colorado] desert” (Eldredge).

The account of the Anza expedition, to this point, has been drawn from Bancroft, Chapman, and Eldredge, but now all must give way to Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, who is an authority on this itinerary.

On March 11, the Colorado Desert was left behind and the expedition wended its way into the San Jacinto Mountains. When camp was made for the night, there was only the scant pasturage furnished by mesquite. The *Indios Serranos*—hill Indians—a poor, miserable, half-starved lot, but skillful in the use of the boomerang, cheered them with the news that four or five days away were people like themselves, and that the sea was but three days distant. Anza was sure the people described must be the Spaniards at San Diego, and the sea could only be the "Philippine Ocean."

Indians encountered as they journeyed on were all very much of a type but became increasingly impudent in manner and speech. Some who held the Spaniards' amazed attention, that, Anza said, could steal as dexterously with their feet as their hands, were called by him "*danzantes*" or "*danzarines*"—dancers—because their harangues were invariably accompanied by gesticulations and violent movements of the feet.

They proceeded in the ascent of the mountains, reaching an *aguage*, where they stopped to rest the sick animals. The next morning they continued up the *cañon*, now beginning to rise sharply, turning from that into another, when, after a sharp climb of two leagues, the top of the range was attained. Anza says: "This *paraje* is a pass and I named it El Puerto Real de San Carlos (the Royal Pass of San Carlos). From it may be discovered some very beautiful plains, green and flowery, and the sierra nevada with pines, oaks, and other trees proper to cold countries. In it the waters are divided, some running to the Gulf and others to the Philippine Ocean. Thus is it verified that the cordillera we are now

in is connected with that of Baja California' " (Eldredge). The valley lying far below must have seemed unutterably beautiful to the desert-worn adventurers, as seen from this pass, incorrectly identified by Bancroft as the San Gorgonio, the route followed by the Southern Pacific, accepted blindly and constantly reiterated until disproved by Mr. Eldredge.

At that elevation of four thousand, seven hundred feet, with the night came rain and snow. No start was made until the afternoon of the next day; then a way was found "over the divide between [what are now] Vandeventer flat and Hemet valley," nearly five thousand feet in altitude, and from there down the San Jacinto River. On March 19, camp was pitched beside a beautiful lake covered with white water fowl, and to this, in compliment to the viceroy, Anza gave the name of "Laguna de San Antonio de Bucaréli. This was San Jacinto lake" (*ibid.*). He was "enthusiastic in his description of the beautiful river, the trees, and the flowers. The river he named San José, and the San Jacinto valley he called La Valle Ameno de San José (The pleasant valley of San José). Into this pleasant valley comes the north fork of the San Jacinto river, a bounding, precipitous stream of such crystalline beauty that they named the gorge down which it runs La Cañada del Paraíso—The Vale of Paradise" (*ibid.*).

The Santa Ana River was reached at four o'clock of the next afternoon, but was running full and not to be forded; so a bridge had to be constructed, and was finished by night-fall! The next morning the river was crossed; and at seven leagues west-northwest, along the base of the *sierra*, camp was made in a flowery, fertile valley studded with willows and *alisos*, beside a clear, rushing mountain stream—San Antonio Creek—a little north and east of the present town of Pomona.

Eight leagues "the next day brought them at sunset, March 22nd, to the mission of San Gabriel where they

were received by the padres with demonstrations of joy, the ringing of bells, and the singing of the *Te Deum*' (*ibid.*).

After the long journey to Tepic from the capital, which Serra, triumphant, had left in September, 1773, he, Padre Mugártegui and the Indian boy had been obliged to await an opportunity to go to Alta California. This did not present itself until January 24, 1774, on which day they sailed on the new *fragata*—frigate—*Santiago*, which had been in process of building when Serra had arrived at San Blas on November 4, 1772. Sometimes called the *Neuva Galicia*, and also a transport as well as a frigate, the new vessel built for the California service was under command of Captain Juan Pérez, so long commanding the *San Antonio*, also known as *El Príncipe*. On board were the new surgeon, José Davila, and his family; Juan Soler, the storekeeper for Monterey; three blacksmiths and their families; and three carpenters.

Of those who were to go north under the various new arrangements, at that date, January 24, Padre Palou was already at Mission San Carlos and had been there for some time, acting during Serra's absence as *presidente*; Captain Juan Bautista de Anza was struggling through the wastes of Papaguería; while Captain Rivera y Moncada had not as yet set himself upon his way to Monterey to assume command, displacing Don Pedro Fages.

On July 18 of the year before, 1773, the viceroy had ordered Captain Juan Pérez to draw up a plan for northern exploration by sea. On September 1, the plan was ready, and approved by the viceroy on the 29th. As formulated by Pérez, latitude 40° to 50° was to be reached, but this, Bucareli changed to 60°. Bucareli had obtained permission to despatch expeditions and to appropriate funds

for the purpose without consulting any one or calling a *junta*, for purposes of secrecy in investigating rumors circulating as to the Englishman, "Bings," and contained in the reports of the Spanish ambassador at the court of Russia, of unpleasant possibilities from that quarter.

The *Santiago* was provisioned for a year; was to make the port of Monterey; and without delay, after delivering passengers and cargo, was to put to sea again, proceeding according to sealed orders, dated December 24, 1773, to be opened after leaving port. Some of the secret orders given Don Juan Pérez are not without interest: he was to reach 60° before turning about, scrutinizing the coast upon the return voyage; should conditions permit, he was to land, take possession, but make no settlement. "If a foreign establishment should be discovered, he was to land north of it, and take possession, leaving evidences of his act. He must not communicate with such foreign establishment, but should view it from afar, getting in that way all the information that he could. He was to avoid ships that he might meet, or, if compelled to communicate with them, was to conceal his real objects. . . . He was to find out whether the Indians had ever seen boats before or any foreigners In entering Monterey or San Diego he was to hoist a certain signal, of which Rivera had been advised, so that he might know that Pérez's was not a foreign ship. . . . his principal object was to explore the coast in search of foreign establishments Russian maps . . . were being given to him, . . . and, finally, he was assured that he would be rewarded according to his deeds" (Chapman).

After a comparatively good trip, the *Santiago* put in at San Diego, on March 13, 1774, contrary to orders, but because of an accident which was a blessing, and one not long "in disguise," for mission and *presidio* were found in a state of famine due to the nonarrival of the *San Carlos* the year before. Evidently, Padre Palou's efforts to bring

the provisions up by pack train had been, in great part, unavailing.

In Sinaloa, Rivera had succeeded in getting together fifty-one persons, men, women, and children, to go to Alta California. Most of the soldiers recruited were married men; but it is impossible to say how many soldiers there were, as no roster seems to exist. It is thought there were about twelve.

Rivera had left the capital in September, 1773, on this recruiting trip, under orders, also, to join forces and coöperate with Anza upon the latter's arrival in Alta California; but, as he did not reach Loreto until March, 1774, having crossed the gulf on the *Concepción*, it must have been an extremely difficult mission to execute and the results were certainly not dazzling. Not being able to secure provisions enough for his entire party on the march northward, he determined to go on ahead, taking with him a few soldiers, and to send back what was needed from San Diego. Putting Ortega, now a lieutenant by brevet, in command, he began his journey on March 20. Anza, with whom he was to coöperate, had already "emerged" into Alta California, and on that very day, and "before sunset," had built a bridge of boughs over the Santa Ana River, over which the expedition passed on the following morning.

Provisions were running low by the time the Anza expedition reached San Gabriel, and the mission there was found in great straits for food. Friars and soldiers were subsisting on three *tortillas*—corn cakes—a day, which they added to as best they could by seeking wild herbs, each for himself. Even with the greatest care, however, the maize on hand could last only one month more! Nevertheless, something had to be done in honor of Captain Anza's arrival, and so a cow was killed that there might be meat to set before their guest.

They generously offered to supply the Anza expedition

out of their little store until his soldiers were sufficiently recuperated to go to San Diego where—contrary to the viceroy's orders—the *Santiago*, with Fray Junípero Serra on board, had put in on March 13, nine days before the arrival of the Anza party at San Gabriel, and, to relieve conditions, had landed some provisions.

Captain Anza despatched, on the 24th, after two days' rest, four men and seven mules to the port, sending letters to the *comandante* of the *presidio* and Captain Pérez of the *Santiago*, asking for horses and provisions with which to continue his march to Monterey. On the 5th of April, they returned, bringing some damaged maize, a sack of dried meat not fit to eat, a sack of flour, and two *fanegas*—something more than two bushels—of beans; these last, useless, as the Anza party carried no pots in which to cook them. They brought no horses; there were none to bring. The horses of the expedition had been through a very great deal and had been unfit for the journey at the start, but no others could be procured.

That there might be fewer mouths to feed at the mission, Anza arranged that Padre Garcés, twelve soldiers, and two *arrieros* should return to the Colorado River and await him there; Juan Valdés, of this party—the Alta California soldier-guide—was to go on to the Presidio of Altar, and from there to the capital with diaries and letters for the viceroy.

Leaving Padre Díaz, with two soldiers, at San Gabriel to await his return, Captain Anza, with six soldiers retained as his escort, left there on April 10 and proceeded to Monterey.

On the 13th, Garcés and those detailed to accompany him left San Gabriel on their way back to the Colorado, returning as they had come except for two short cuts; and without mishap except for some little trouble with the Indians, who killed a horse for the meat. They were met in the friendliest way by Palma, who ferried them across

the river on the rafts already prepared, according to promise, for Anza upon his return. The men who had been left there when the expedition had made its second start, having heard that the Anza party had perished, had taken the horses and gone to Tubac; but everything else had been carefully guarded and was intact; indeed, more was turned over to Garcés than had been inventoried, for some of the cows had calves. Accompanied by two soldiers, Juan Valdés, Anza's courier to the viceroy, proceeded on his way to Altar and from there to the capital.

Serra disembarked at San Diego, wishing to proceed overland, and began his journey from that place northward on April 6. Mugártegui, his friar companion from the College of San Fernando, landed there also, and, not being in good health, remained, his place on the *Santiago* being taken by another friar. The *Santiago* sailed on April 5 or 6.

Captain Anza arrived at the Presidio of Monterey on April 18, where he was most cordially received and congratulated upon his achievement by Don Pedro Fages. The friars came over from Carmelo, to rejoice with the rest and add their congratulations. On the following day, Captain Anza returned their visit.

He found Monterey much nearer starvation than San Gabriel, and did not dally there to help consume what little there was. Friday, the 22d, saw him on the return march, taking with him six of Fages' soldiers that he might show them the way to the two rivers.

Of conditions at that time, Padre Palou writes in his *Noticias* (first referring to the *San Carlos*, despatched by the viceroy at Serra's request, having to land at Loreto provisions intended for Alta California): "The provisions were landed, but as there were no means to forward them overland, the worst famine reigned that was ever suffered in those regions of Monterey. During eight months milk

was the manna for all from the comandante and the Fathers down to the least individual, and I shared it with the rest At this Mission of San Carlos, for thirty-seven days we were without as much as a crumb of bread or a tortilla. The meals consisted of a gruel made of chick-peas or beans ground to flour with which milk was mixed. In the morning a little coffee took the place of chocolate' ” (Engelhardt). The arrival, on May 8 or 9, of the *Santiago* relieved the distress; and the neophytes, who had been sent out to shift for themselves, returned.

Somewhere along the Santa Bárbara Channel coast, on the sixth day's march from Monterey, Captain Anza met the *padre presidente*, Fray Junípero Serra, journeying northward, inspecting the missions from which he had been so long absent; and with him Captain Anza remained for the rest of the day and spent the night, giving Serra an account of his journey, continuing his march on the following morning and reaching San Gabriel on the first day of May.

On the 3d, with Padre Juan Díaz and the two soldiers left there with him, Captain Anza proceeded on his way, returning as he had come, except that he took advantage of short cuts, as had Garcés, greatly reducing the number of leagues traveled. There was also some little trouble with the Indians. By a forced march, also, the time was shortened, and the expedition reached Santa Olalla on May 9, proceeding up the Colorado River to the junction of the Gila, and, on the 10th, being given an enthusiastic welcome by Palma, who informed Captain Anza that Garcés was encamped on the other side of the river and that the live stock had been delivered to him. The expedition was rafted across the river, six hundred *varas*—sixteen hundred and fifty feet—at that place, some five hundred Indians swimming beside the rafts to safeguard the passage. The Garcés camp was reached at about five o'clock in the afternoon.

Presenting the Yuma chief with his staff—*baton*—as a

badge of office, some articles of dress, and four oxen, and enjoining him to keep the peace he had announced to the Indians along the way as now existing among all the tribes, Captain Anza took up his line of march on the 15th, proceeding up the Gila, past the Pápagos, Cocomaricopas—or Maricopas, as they are now,—and Pimas-Gileños, announcing that among all the tribes formerly at war with one another peace had come to stay. This decree had been accepted by all the Indians along his line of march, and arrows were broken as a token.

At the Pima *pueblo* of Tucson, where he arrived on the 25th, despatches awaited him, requesting him to hasten to Tubac because of danger from Apaches. Starting before dawn on the next morning, the 26th, and making a forced march, he was at his own *presidio* at sunrise of the next day, May 27, 1774.

The purpose of the expedition had been accomplished: a way had been found overland, across the Gila and Colorado rivers, to Monterey, the outpost of New Spain on the Pacific. Not a man had been lost, the King's Road was now open, and with it another line of communication to the aid of the ill-nourished, weakling, and failing establishments in Alta California.

The long-cherished wish of Anza of Fronteras had been consummated; and he, Juan Bautista de Anza of Tubac, had done that which, since his boyhood, he had wished to do; and, for all, he gave thanks to the Lord God of Armies.

XVI

Two stars of state in the ascendant in the political firmament of New Spain now appear in conjunction in the persons of Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa and José de Gálvez Gallardo.

Because of his intimate knowledge of California affairs, his interest in them, and his official capacity as a member of the Council of the Indies, Gálvez continued to be a factor in their administration after his return to Spain. Bucareli's official communications and their enclosures, in reference to such as were uppermost in 1773, in due time reached Gálvez, transmitted by Arriaga, and were in turn reviewed by him in a memorial to Arriaga under date of March 8, 1774.

These Gálvez criticisms of matters promulgated under the Bucareli régime afford a slight basis for comparison, yet no standard of measurement for one is entirely applicable to the other. The two were radically dissimilar.

To the ordinary reader, Gálvez stands out as an organizer of new work—facile, brilliant. In Bucareli is seen a great executive, carefully selecting and using to advantage the best, the most necessary, the most feasible of the innumerable plans and specifications presented to him for consideration. This evaluation may be due to the angle from which they are viewed in their respective official positions. But it is impossible to envision them exchanged.

In the memorial referred to, Gálvez regarded the "removal of Fages, without hearing from either Fages or Barry . . . as a mistake, but as it had . . . taken place, Fages might be promoted to the command of a frontier

presidio. Rivera could not compare with Fages in spirit, resolution, and military knowledge, wherefore, Gálvez felt that the very important Alta California establishments might be in grave danger, since they had to confront a vast native population, and were exposed to the repeated attempts of the Russians and the subjects of other powers who had upon various occasions made land in those seas" (Chapman).

Events in connection with Rivera's administration of his new office, following quickly upon the very heels of the date of the Gálvez memorial, are vastly more interesting if his accurate summing up of the qualifications of the two officers is borne in mind. Gálvez knew them both thoroughly, having been in a position when in Baja California as *visitador* to compare, as to character and ability, the one with the other.

Gálvez had something to say as to the transfer of the Peninsula missions, in effect that neither he nor Croix had wished to have the two orders, Dominicans and Franciscans, in the Californias.

He considered the Department of San Blas indispensable.

These, the Serra *representación*, the authorization of the *junta* in the matter of the Anza proposal, and others submitted to him at the date of the memorial had long since gone forward in the ordinary course of official routine, and the Echeveste provisional *reglamento* had been in force since January 1.

Among other things, Gálvez approved Serra's recommendation of mixed marriages in so far as it meant marriages between whites and Indians or *mestizos*—part white and part Indian—but not between whites and mulattoes. This point, it seems, had not been taken up in the *reglamento* or touched upon by the *junta*.

In the spring, April or May, of 1773, under command of Captain Juan Pérez, the *San Carlos*, despatched, at

Serra's request, by the viceroy, Bucareli, with provisions for the Alta California establishments, departed from San Blas, bound for San Diego and Monterey. It has been seen that these ports were never reached, but that the *San Carlos* had put in at Loreto and discharged her cargo there. Instead of assisting in the delivery of these goods, as the viceroy had been given to understand was his intention, Governor Felipe Barri, according to Palou, placed an embargo upon them. In consequence, famine reigned for many months at all the missions. We have had a little insight as to the situation at San Gabriel when the Anza expedition reached there. We know that at Mission San Carlos it was even worse. Says Palou: " 'When Captain J. B. Anza arrived with his Sonora troops, we had not even a cake of chocolate to set before him for breakfast. The whole food was reduced to milk and herbs without bread or anything else' " (Engelhardt).

This distress had been relieved by the arrival at Monterey of the *Santiago*, on May 9, 1774. Two days later, on the 11th, the *padre presidente* reached there, coming overland from San Diego, having been absent from Alta California more than a year and a half, and from his own mission, San Carlos Borromeo at Carmelo, about one year and nine months.

On Saturday, May 23, Captain Rivera y Moncada arrived at the Presidio of Monterey, and, in no very courteous way, on the Monday following, presented his credentials to Captain Don Pedro Fages, who was thereby relieved as military commander in Alta California and as Lieutenant Governor of the Californias.

A very thin line divides tragedy and comedy in the administration of Rivera in Alta California. The curtain is rung up, immediately upon his arrival, on the drama in which even this thin line is, at times, lost sight of and the two are indistinguishable.

Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Moncada of the cavalry—*soldados de cuera*—had entered the service in 1742, and worked up from the ranks to his captaincy. He had led the first division up the Peninsula in 1769, breaking the trail into Nueva California, followed by Captain Don Gaspar de Portolá with the second division.

In arranging and despatching the expedition, Don José de Gálvez, the *visitador*, had seemed to accord preference to Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages of the Catalan Volunteers. This had not been unnoticed by Rivera. Again, upon the withdrawal of Don Gaspar de Portolá, Fages, of inferior rank, was left in command. Rivera became very bitter because of this preferment of Fages over himself. It had rankled and had not ceased rankling.

On March 2, 1770, he wrote to Viceroy de Croix, applying for leave to retire from the service because of ill health. This was granted him on the following November 12, but when he attempted to make use of the privilege and set out for the south he was ordered by Governor Barri to return. This he reported to the viceroy in a letter of May 31, 1771. Under date of September 12, of the same year, official permission came to him for the second time, which, when available, had been prayed for by him nearly two years before—a very trying delay for a man worn out by a long, hard service and broken in health!

Upon leaving the army, he bought a farm near Guadalajara, but the venture was not successful; and he was obliged to reënter the service in order to support his family and, if possible, to pay his debts.

Rivera had asked that he be not sent to Alta California, but this Bucareli had disregarded. So we find him there against his inclination and in the army again from sheer necessity. Years of active frontier service had broken him physically; seeming injustice, over which he had brooded, had done its work; misfortune and debt overtaking him had forced his return to the army, despite his failing health;

and all tended to undermine mental and moral stamina. Finding himself in a position beyond his capacity may have completed the mischief.

His erratic behavior, considered from the psychological standpoint, seems to have been the result of what had preceded it and forces the conclusion that Rivera was not at all times quite responsible; otherwise, his conduct during his incumbency would be incomprehensible.

Captain Don Pedro Fages, Lieutenant Governor of the Californias, had been in Alta California for about five years, coming in 1769 on board the unlucky *San Carlos*, with his twenty-five Catalan Volunteers. For a little less than four years he had been accorded all the deference due his office, and was in undisputed control except for differences with Padre Presidente Fray Junípero Serra, in which the *padre presidente* had ended victor.

With his dignity offended by Rivera's discourtesy and, doubtless, fully aware of his long smoldering, unfriendly feeling toward him, Don Pedro, being human, did not resist the temptation presented in an alluring opportunity to give the superseding officer in his turn a few unpleasant quarter hours.

Rivera, with few words and no unnecessary phrases of civility, taking advantage of his new authority to the full, ordered Fages to close up his accounts and hold himself in readiness to sail on the *San Antonio*.

Fages, a trained and tried officer, of course had no intention whatever of disobeying the orders of the viceroy but, nevertheless, he replied that he wished to embark at San Diego to procure there certain receipts from friars and petty officers in order to complete his report. This Rivera refused to countenance, replying, "The viceroy does not order me to allow the volunteers and you to embark at San Diego, but simply by the first vessel. His excellency

knows very well that this presidio is the capital where you reside; therefore, this is the place he speaks of, and from this place you must sail' " (Bancroft).

Whereupon, Don Pedro played a trump card and, as he might, had he been so minded, have done in the first place, produced a permit signed by the viceroy, and of later date than Rivera's instructions, for him to sail from San Diego. To this there was no possible "retort courteous" or discourteous.

But that was not soul satisfying enough for the departing Fages, who seemed bent on infuriating Rivera. He now announced that some animals he had for his own use he proposed to take to San Diego with him. Rivera promptly replied that he absolutely refused to allow any such outrageous appropriation of the king's property. Thereupon Fages furnished proof conclusive that the mules in question were not the king's property, but his own; and thus once more he scored!

Now, again, he declared that the rendition of his accounts could not possibly be completed in time for him to sail on the *San Antonio*. In answer to this came an insolently worded permission from Rivera to sail by the *Santiago*. Evidently satisfied at having drawn forth this answer—and gained his point—Don Pedro decided to go at once and leave his accounts to be made up by a clerk!

This story is built upon Rivera's own letters, which are amply sufficient to give an excellent idea of the clash by correspondence between these two officers—probably within a very few yards of one another—without Fages' letters, which have not turned up.

If, after Rivera's first affront, Fages made up his mind deliberately to "bait" the new *comandante* in order to infuriate him, he must have been gratified with the result, for he succeeded most admirably in doing so!

On July 19, Captain Fages, displaced at Serra's request

—but neither humiliated nor defeated,—set out overland for San Diego, sailing from there on August 4 on the *San Antonio*.

In those days, not only was an *expediente* an enormous collection of documents even in a simple matter, but written communications in New Spain seem often to have been lengthy, verbose, wandering, which last may be somewhat the fault of the translator. Sometimes the real *raison d'être* is so hidden in verbiage that it is as difficult to find as "two grains of wheat in two bushels of chaff." They were prodigal of words in more ways than one; for instance: in the names of places. No examples need be given. "He who runs, may read" them, strewn all along the way in the history of Spanish California.

Padre Palou's report was replied to by the viceroy, under date of May 25, 1774, from which a few excerpts are taken: "I have received the report and description which Your Reverence prepared with such method and detail about the new establishments and missions. This information gratifies me exceedingly by reason of the thorough knowledge which it affords of the fertility and suitability of the land for erecting other missions, . . . and by reason of other things which Your Reverence explains in detail in your letter of December 10th, 1773. With a full knowledge of all this the Rev. Fr. Junípero Serra goes away charged to exert all his energies for the benefit of the missions, the erection of others, not counting those projected

"I suppose that when Your Reverence has received this you will have had the pleasure of seeing the establishments relieved somewhat by means of the frigate with which Fr. Junípero Serra has sailed, and by means of the packet-boat *El Príncipe* (*San Antonio*) which followed her with what supplies I was able to furnish her in consequence

of my orders. The *San Carlos*, which I have equipped for the same purpose, will not tarry to sail out from San Blas

“I do not believe that the pleasure of Your Reverence has been lessened in seeing communication opened between yonder coast and the province of Sonora. I trust Captain Juan Bautista de Anza has returned with his expedition; for under date of the 9th of February, from the place called San Dionisio, he sends me the news of the success with which he had passed the rivers Colorado and Gila, and with which he also traveled among unknown Indian tribes, . . . and of the good treatment he received among the Yuma tribe and from their chief Palma

“The new commander of the presidios, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, also wrote me from Loreto under date of March 20th, that he had resolved to make the journey by land with fifty-one persons . . . and would direct them to march straight for San Diego. Computing the dates, it may be concluded with reason that these two officials have met on the road, or that they succeeded in meeting at that establishment or at Monterey. In whatever manner it may have occurred, I hope that, through the union of said two expeditions there will be gained a number of men capable of attending to anything; that the vicinity and the locality where the Port of San Francisco is situated will be better surveyed, and that with more certainty than was obtained so far the founding of the missions intended there will be planned, *for the purpose of holding that region securely, and of extending the conquest*. Of these results I wish to be advised, and to this end I hope that Your Reverence, while continuing your laudable labors, will inform me about everything minutely, as I ask and charge you. God keep Y. R. many years. Mexico, May 25th, 1774. [Signed] Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa.’”

This letter was turned over to Serra by Palou, and the

next day, Fray Junípero, who had been waiting for an auspicious moment to broach the subject of Mission San Francisco and other things, read the letter to Rivera. But they were still short of soldiers, those recruited not having as yet arrived.

XVII

Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, the viceroy, was well pleased with the news received in June of the arrival of the overland expedition in Alta California, brought to the capital by the courier, Juan Valdés, despatched in April from San Gabriel with reports, by Don Juan Bautista de Anza.

So well pleased was he that he enclosed copies of Anza's diary and letters to Arriaga, suggesting that he be made lieutenant colonel and that soldiers who had accompanied him be given extra pay for life, as a reward and as an incentive to others.

But, on the other hand, he was not at all pleased with news innocently let slip by Valdés, who stated that after the expedition had reached Mission San Gabriel he had been sent to San Diego to bring up provisions and, while there, had been on board the *Santiago*. To him, there was nothing at all extraordinary in this, he being, of course, in ignorance of the real reason for the despatching of the vessel. But the bare statement that the *Santiago* had touched at San Diego, contrary to his (Bucareli's) express orders, was sufficiently extraordinary for the viceroy to cause his deposition to be taken by his secretary, Melchor de Peramás, and to become the subject of letters to Arriaga.

In his declaration, June 14, 1774, among other things, Valdés deposed that he had seen the *Santiago* at San Diego and had gone on board; all were well; she had been there two weeks, being stopped at Padre Serra's request, in order that supplies might be left for the southern missions; that her masts were too high, and that masts were being cut for

the vessel; he had seen the *padre presidente*, who was well and was on his way overland to Monterey.

Bucareli was naturally astonished that Pérez had put in at San Diego, orders given him having been to proceed direct to Monterey. Except in serious necessity, he was not to touch at San Diego; and, for that reason, the viceroy had the Valdés declaration taken. He wrote to Arriaga that, as a matter of fact, the *Santiago* seemed to have had an easy voyage and to have made the stop to shorten a mast, or at the request of Serra, who had been willing to be set down at Monterey when he started. He was waiting, he said, to be further informed as to the reason for the stop.

In the first venture, the expedition overland into Alta California under Captain Anza, success had been achieved—a way had been found across rivers, desert, and mountains to the shore of the great ocean. Already, His Excellency, the viceroy, was considering a second expedition made up in a different way with a different object in view: colonization, one step beyond *presidios* and missions—a feeble attempt toward which had been made in the groups collected by Palou and Rivera—the third phase of Spanish conquest.

Anza was again to be in command; definite information, in his letters and diary, was at hand; and preliminaries, such as might be, were being pushed. But, before details could be arrived at and final arrangements made, his presence would be necessary, and Don Juan Bautista was now on his way.

Captain Anza had arrived at Tubac on May 26, intent on proceeding direct to the capital according to orders to present his report to the viceroy in person, but was detained there by Antonio Bonilla (assistant inspector under Hugo

Oconor) until the inspection of the *presidio* was completed.

After Bonilla's departure, he sent back secret orders to Anza to go to the Presidio of Terenate and take command. Graft at this *presidio* by the captain and *habilitado*—paymaster—had gone to such lengths that a riot had resulted, followed by the arrest of Captain José de Vildosola. In this emergency, because of his long experience in the management of troops and his capability, and because no other officer of sufficient ability was available, Bonilla pounced upon Anza. He explained all this in a letter to Oconor and that he had gone so far as to suggest to Governor Crespo to relieve the situation so that Captain Anza might proceed to the capital. Meanwhile, Anza was held at Terenate pending the appointment of some one to the command.

When his plans had been thwarted upon arrival at Tubac, he had written to the viceroy, explaining his predicament. Now, with everything in readiness and waiting for him, came news that he had been detained to await action by Governor Crespo.

Bucareli was very indignant and expressed himself freely on the subject in a letter dated August 27, to Arriaga. He wrote that he felt that nothing in the affairs of Sonora could be more important than what Anza had accomplished. He had given definite orders to Bonilla and there should have been no delay in their execution. Therefore, he had ordered Governor Crespo to arrange at once for the relief of Anza.

He was distinctly incensed—and justly so—at Bonilla's presumption in setting aside his official instructions, no matter what had been his reason for so doing.

The *Santiago* was ready, on June 6, to proceed on the voyage planned for her to 60°, but was held port-bound by contrary winds and waiting for favorable weather, when,

on the 8th, the supply ship *San Antonio* put in, having missed the harbor of San Diego, and instead of putting about had kept on to Monterey—the first vessel to make that port without touching at San Diego.

The *San Antonio* was commanded by José Cañizares, erstwhile *pilotin*—master's mate—of the *San Carlos*, who had been detached to act as cosmographer for the first division of land forces under Rivera y Moncada, in the expedition of 1769.

Padre Juan Crespí, better known to us, had been named by the *padre presidente* to accompany the *Santiago* expedition under Captain Juan Pérez, in place of Padre Mugártegui, who was not well enough to undertake the onerous duties expected of friars on voyages for purposes of exploration. The College of San Fernando was required to send them, but such assignments were greatly disliked.

On the voyage, the friar was to take the latitude and make observations; and, besides, a description of the natives encountered, was to keep a detailed diary of these things and all else necessary to a full record. There were besides, of course, masses to be said, *novenas*, ministrations for the sick—whatever appertained to his calling.

Of his appointment, Crespí writes: " 'Notwithstanding my great fatigue after so many expeditions by land, I sacrificed myself in order to take part in this enterprise in conformity with my vow of obedience, . . . but I had the consolation that, by dint of entreaty, the said Fr. Presidente obtained from His Excellency the favor that Fr. Tomás de la Peña should go with me as a companion.' " In other words, Serra had to obtain this permission from the viceroy.

" 'On Monday evening, June 6th, 1774, we arrived (from San Carlos) at the royal presidio. After taking leave of the captains and of Fathers Murguía and Palóu, who were hearing the confessions of the crew that was to make the voyage, we went to the beach. We took leave of the Rev. Fr. Presidente, . . . and then went aboard the ship.

Seeing that we could not sail, we two Fathers went ashore and to the fort. This afternoon, Thursday 9th, Don Juan Pérez requested that on the next day a holy Mass should be sung on the shore in honor of Our Lady for the success of the voyage. On Friday 10th the altar was erected under a shelter of boughs on the very site where the holy Mass was celebrated on the 17th of December, 1602, during the expedition of General Sebastián Vizcaino, and on the 3d of June, 1770, when a settlement was founded at this port, and the first High Mass was sung by the Rev. Fr. Presidente. He likewise sang the holy Mass today. . . . We all dined together near the old oak which Sebastián Vizcaino saw. After dinner we went aboard the ship'” (Engelhardt).

On the 11th, the *Santiago* finally got under way, but on the 28th, because of dense fogs and contrary winds, while some two hundred leagues off the coast, was still in the latitude of Monterey. On July 15, 45°, 35' was reached, with very cold weather. On that day, a turn landward was made, no land having been sighted so far because of dense fogs. Preparations were now begun for taking possession as soon as a landing could be made. On July 16, at latitude 51°, 42', “the carpenters constructed a wooden cross about five varas [thirteen feet nine inches] in height. The inscription on the upper part was I.N.R.I. [“Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judæorum; Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews”]; along the body of the cross between the arms and the foot, *Carolus Tertius, Rex Hispaniarum* [Charles Third, King of Spain], and on the arms, *Año de 1774'*” (*ibid.*). Landfall was made on July 18, beyond 53°. On the 19th, 53°, 58' was reached. On the 20th, “A point of land, which appeared to be an island, was named Santa Margarita for the saint of the day. The next day, Thursday 21st, the captain tried to round the point and to land, but the current forced the vessel southward.”

Says Crespi, “‘we saw many camp fires, and the land

was densely covered with trees, apparently pines. From a break in the land resembling the mouth of a river a canoe was seen coming toward the ship. While it was still distant we heard the people in it singing, and from the melody we knew they were pagans, for it was the same which was sung at the dances . . . from San Diego to Monterey.' ”

“Fr. Crespi relates that while the ship was becalmed for twelve hours one league from the land facing the Point of Santa Margarita, as many as twenty-one canoes shot out from the shore towards the vessel. Two of them measured no less than twelve varas [thirty-three feet] along the keel; in one of these were twenty men One of the canoes held twelve women, who paddled and managed it as well as the men. All these Indians ‘drew close to the ship They sang and played upon instruments of wood fashioned like drums or timbrels, and some made movements as though they would dance. . . . We soon found that they had come for the purpose of bartering their effects for ours. The sailors gave them ribbons, old clothing, and beads; and they in turn offered the skins of the otter and other unknown animals very well tanned and dressed. They had coverlets of otter skins sewn together so well that the best tailor could not sew them better. . . .

“ ‘They also gave us some little mats . . . in different colors; hats made of reeds, . . . some small wooden platters, well made and ornamented, the figures of men, animals, and birds being executed in relief or cut into the wood; also some wooden spoons carved . . . and smooth within the bowl. . . .

“ ‘The captain [Pérez], who had spent a great deal of time in China and the Philippines, tells me that these Indians greatly resemble the Sangaleyes of the Philippine Islands. . . . Some of the sailors that had bought cloaks passed a bad night; for when they had put them on they found themselves obliged to take to scratching by reason of the

bites they suffered from the little creatures which those pagans breed in their clothing' " (*ibid.*).

Off the southwest point of Cape Santa Margarita, the latitude was found to be 55° , and this was the highest point reached by the expedition.

By August 8, the *Santiago* had dropped down to $49^{\circ}, 5'$. No landing had as yet been made. But now, the wind dying down to a calm, it was planned to go ashore on the morrow, take possession, and raise the great cross. With the next day came a high wind. The longboat could not be lowered and the *Santiago* proceeded on her way southward.

Fogs, almost like rain, with wind and cold, brought illness in their train. Most of the men developed scurvy. Good Padre Juan, whose mouth was so sore he could not say mass, came in for his share of misery with the rest.

On the 22d, looming high and shadowy on the fog-obscured coast, Cape Mendocino was discerned. Greenhow credits Pérez with being the first to determine the latitude of this cape. South of this, they were becalmed, and because of the possible bad effect of this delay upon the many prostrated by illness, great apprehension was felt.

"On August 23d another novena was begun in honor of Our Lady of Talpa The same evening a light wind arose and revived the drooping spirits." This seems to have been the fourth *novena* during the voyage, the others having been to San Antonio, San Juan Nepomuceno, and Santa Clara.

On Friday, August 26, the Farallones were left behind, and on the 27th, Saturday, at four o'clock, the *Santiago* cast anchor in the bay of Monterey.

The diary kept by Fray Tomás de la Peña, signed on August 28, was forwarded to the viceroy overland, by way of the Peninsula, together with a letter from Fray Junípero Serra dated September 9. "Fr. Crespi prepared a clean

copy of his diary and signed it at San Carlos Mission on October 5th, 1774." This, with a brief letter from Serra, was sent by the *Santiago*, which reached San Blas on November 3, 1774, a little more than nine months from the date of sailing outward bound from that port.

Results obtained by the *Santiago* expedition were all negative. The latitude mentioned by the viceroy as the turning point, 60° , had not been reached; no foreign establishments had been discovered; because of constant fog, not much of the coast had been seen; no possession had been taken and no landing at all made; nor had the wonderful cross been raised.

Recruits having arrived, it was now possible for the lieutenant governor to follow instructions received from the viceroy, dated August 17, 1773—the preceding year: to make further surveys and explorations in the vicinity of the bay of San Francisco, about which still not a very great deal was known.

Taking an escort of sixteen soldiers, one of whom had served in the Fages expedition of 1772, which route they were to follow, a muleteer and pack train with provisions for forty days and accompanied by Padre Palou, his servant, and a boy to assist at mass (both Indians), Captain Rivera started northward on November 23, 1774. On the 28th, camp was made on the banks of an *arroyo* (San Francisquito Creek), where the Portolá expedition of 1769 had remained from the 7th to the 11th of November; and at which point, Fages had turned to the right in order to reach the east side of the bay. This was thought a good location for a mission, and here a cross was raised.

Some of the natives coming about, Padre Palou talked to them in the dialect of the Monterey Indians. They seemed to comprehend some of the things said to them, but he was not at all satisfied that he had made himself

clear about God and Heaven! However, he made the sign of the cross on all of them.

Here they turned to the left and up the peninsula, following the route of the Portolá expedition, through a valley which they named *Cañada de San Andrés*, it being the *fiesta* of that saint. The Indians were friendly and numerous. Fog, rain, wind, and cold weather, for several days from December 1st, delayed them, but on the 4th they pitched camp on a stream flowing into a lake, later named *Laguna de la Merced*.

Accompanied by Padre Palou, Captain Rivera pushed on with four soldiers, crossed the hills and sand dunes until the seashore was reached; then proceeded along the beach until they were brought to a halt before a steep, high cliff, in front of which in the ocean were some pointed rocks swarming with seals (Seal Rocks).

A little détour and a stiff climb up the sand hills to their right, a turn to the left at the top, and they found themselves immediately above the entrance from the ocean into the strait leading into "the great inland sea." They were the first, save the Indians, to look from that point upon that miracle of beauty, and here—Point Lobos—they raised a cross that might be seen from afar.

Returning to the camp near Lake Merced, Rivera decided that as the rainy season was upon them it would not be advisable to attempt explorations up the eastern side of the bay, and the next day, the 5th, found them on their way south. A few hours' march brought them to the Portolá trail; on the 11th, they crossed the Pájaro River; and on the 13th of December, they arrived at the Presidio of Monterey. With one soldier and his servants, Padre Palou went on to Mission San Carlos at Carmelo.

All there regretted that nothing more could have been accomplished; but Palou was able to report six excellent sites for future missions.

XVIII

In November, 1774, Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza arrived at the capital and duly presented his report to Viceroy Bucareli.

Consultations were begun; preliminaries awaiting his advice were gone into; and details were formulated for presentation to the *junta* called by the viceroy for December, apparently merely a matter of official routine—to keep the red tape free from tangles—with the result a foregone conclusion, permission, for reasons of state, having been given Bucareli to dispense with this and certain other formalities should he deem it advisable.

The *junta's* resolution authorizing the expedition, among other things (using the Richman version) provided: "That the port of San Francisco should be occupied by Anza with forty soldiers and their families,—soldiers chosen from the *Alcaldías* (alcalde districts) of Culiacán, Sinaloa, and Fuerte, where 'most of the inhabitants were submerged in the greatest poverty and misery'; that twenty-eight of the soldiers, under a lieutenant and sergeant, should be volunteers, and ten should be veterans of the reconnoissance; . . . that Padre Garcés should attend the expedition as far as the banks of the Colorado, there to await its return, and that Fray Pedro Font should attend it throughout; that on his arrival at Monterey, Anza should turn over to Rivera y Moncada the volunteers, and, having with his own ten men aided in a survey of the *Río de San Francisco*, should return with them to Tubac."

For *teniente*—lieutenant—choice lay between José Joaquín Moraga, of Fronteras, and Cayetano Limón, of Buenavista. Both had been suggested by Anza. They were

of the same rank, *alférez*, and had been in the service many years. Moraga was appointed. He had a fine record,—as had Limón,—but was especially desirable because he was able to express himself well in writing.

For *sargento*—sergeant—the names of José Ignacio Espinosa and Juan Pablo Grijalva, of Terenate, and Antonio Bravo, of Buenavista, were submitted. Espinosa could not write but received the appointment, other qualifications outweighing that not unusual deficiency. But, as things worked out, Grijalva went.

It is interesting to note that the Pious Fund was to help out—once more—in the matter of expedition expenses to the extent of ten thousand *pesos*. The total cost, computed with the greatest care by Echeveste and Anza, came to something more than twenty-one thousand *pesos*. Necessary formalities having been completed, actual preparations were begun.

Anza set up his standard at Horcasitas, and named Tubac as the official starting point.

The *Santiago*, returning in November, had nothing but negative results to report; nothing very definite had been accomplished, yet much general information had been acquired and, in reality, a voyage of reconnoissance of the entire northwest coast had been made.

Negative results took on a very positive value when a second expedition by sea was immediately ordered despatched by the viceroy. This, like the second expedition overland, was to be on a more ambitious scale and on what promised to be more efficient lines than anything before attempted. As arranged, it consisted of a fleet of four vessels under command of Lieutenant Bruno de Heceta of the royal navy—*teniente de navio*—on board the *Santiago*, with Juan Pérez as his *piloto*—sailing master—and Cristóbal Revilla as *pilotin*—master's mate; Miguel de la

Campa and Benito Sierra were the chaplains. The little thirty-six foot schooner, the *Sonora*, was consort, commanded by Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala, *teniente de fragata*, of a rank lower than Heceta. These two were under orders somewhat similar to those issued to Pérez the year before: to push on to the far northwest, and to endeavor to reach 65° latitude. Lieutenant Miguel Manrique, of the same rank as Heceta in the royal navy, was in command of the *San Carlos*, which was to proceed to Monterey with supplies for the northern missions and then to make a thorough survey of the bay of San Francisco; Vicente de Santa María was the chaplain on board.

The *San Antonio*, under Lieutenant Fernando Quirós, of the same rank in the royal navy as Heceta and Manrique, was to go no farther than San Diego with supplies for the southern missions; Ramón Ussón was the chaplain.

Three of these vessels: the *Santiago*, with the little *Sonora* in tow, and the *San Carlos* sailed on March 16, 1775, from San Blas, followed by the *San Antonio* five days later. Shortly after the voyage began, Manrique became insane and was sent ashore; Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala was transferred from the *Sonora* to the *San Carlos*, while Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, of the same rank as Ayala, took command of the *Sonora*, with Antonio Maurelle as *piloto*. A grade lower than Ayala and Bodega, Maurelle was of the same rank as Pérez, *alférez de fragata*; and both were *pilotos*, as was Revilla. At the end of a week, the *San Carlos* had become separated from the other two, the *Santiago* and the *Sonora*; and, indeed, each of the four vessels spins its own yarn, the shortest being that of the *San Antonio*, which delivered her cargo at San Diego and was back at San Blas by the middle of June.

Because of unfavorable winds, little progress was made by the *capitana* and consort until early in April, when they were able to head for the northwest, being about opposite

Monterey on May 21, but making no stop there or anywhere until after turning southward along the coast on June 7, at latitude 42°. A good anchorage was made on the 9th, at latitude 41°, under a headland giving them protection from the prevailing north winds. Two days later, a landing was made. The natives were very inquisitive about their visitors, but entirely friendly. Formal possession was taken. A cross was raised, mass said, the flag of Spain unfurled, and a salute fired. The port was named *Trinidad*, from the day, and still bears the name. A new topmast was made for the *Santiago*, and wood and water were taken on board. At this isolated place, a sailor deserted!

On the 19th, the two vessels put to sea, and again headed for the north, keeping together until on July 30, when, the *Sonora* no longer in tow, they lost each other.

Keeping close in shore and anchoring often, Heceta kept on to 49°. At that point, on August 11, he was obliged to put about, because so many men were disabled from scurvy, but continued to make observations on his way south, until 42°, 30' was reached. After August 21, nothing much could be seen of the coast because of the dense fog, and although the Farallones were sighted, the entrance to the bay of San Francisco could not be located. On this voyage, Heceta had discovered the mouth of the Columbia River.

On August 29, the *Santiago* cast anchor in the harbor of Monterey, landing some provisions and mission supplies that had voyaged far to reach their destination, a little more than a month after the departure of the *San Carlos*, which had arrived at Monterey on June 27, delivering supplies for the northern missions before proceeding to the bay of San Francisco for special service.

Upon this voyage, the victims of the ill luck ever lurking about the *San Carlos* were her commanders: Manrique, who had gone mad; and Ayala, who, upon taking command, had been so seriously wounded by the explosion of some firearm

left in his cabin by Manrique, that, although he remained with his ship and retained command, he could not actively participate to any great extent in explorations and surveys outlined in orders for the *San Carlos*.

A boat was needed for the surveys to be made, and Captain Ayala remained at Monterey long enough to have one fashioned from the hollowed-out trunk of a redwood tree, called by Bancroft a "*cayuco* or 'dugout.'" But on July 27 he set sail, a *novena* being commenced on that day for the success of the undertaking. On August 4, the *San Carlos* was opposite the entrance to the *estero*.

The next morning, the Monterey-made boat, commanded by Cañizares, was sent inside to find an anchorage, but currents ran too swiftly and tides were too strong, and the return trip could not be negotiated. After waiting until nearly nightfall, Captain Ayala headed the *San Carlos* for the entrance, passed on through the strait, and came safely to anchor at half past ten o'clock. The small boat was located the following day, and a new anchorage found under the lee of Angel Island, named at that time *Isla de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*. The *San Carlos* kept her anchorage there during most of the time spent by the expedition in the bay of San Francisco.

"Goat Island," officially Yerba Buena Island, was named at that time *Isla de los Alcatraces*, but, in some way, the plural (Island of the Pelicans) became the singular (Pelican Island) and the name was shifted, for Alcatraz is farther out.

The object of the expedition was to determine whether the entrance seen by Fages was navigable; whether the bay was suitable for a port; and to coöperate with a party Rivera had been ordered to despatch overland, which was to assist with surveys and observations, selection of sites for a *presidio* and a mission, and to erect buildings to accommodate the soldiers and their families—settlers—who were soon to begin the journey from the Presidio of

Tubac, the second expedition to Alta California from Sonora under Juan Bautista de Anza.

A careful survey of the bay began, Cañizares being sent northward in the small boat, where he found rivers emptying their waters into the great bay, and many and friendly natives. Upon his return, Aguirre was despatched southward, meeting only three Indians on the whole trip, and as all three were weeping and wailing, the spot was named *Ensenada de los Llorones*.

After forty-four days at anchor in the bay of San Francisco, and his own special duties completed, weary of waiting for the land expedition which did not arrive, Ayala endeavored on September 7 to leave the harbor he had entered so easily but was not successful. On the 18th, the exit was made, and the next day the *San Carlos* was again in the harbor of Monterey.

Meanwhile, Captain Bruno de Heceta, commanding the expedition, had returned from the north, a little more than a month after the departure of the *San Carlos* for the bay of San Francisco, and, as he had not been able to find his way into the harbor on his trip south, determined to lead a party overland and join Ayala. He was not able to carry out his intention at once for want of an escort, soldiers having been sent from Monterey to quell an uprising of the Indians at Mission San Antonio. But on September 14, with nine soldiers, three sailors, and a carpenter, he set out. A small canoe bought by Heceta from the northern Indians was taken along, a mule being used as transport. On the 22d, the seashore was reached at the "Bay of the Farallones," where the waters from the *Laguna de la Merced*, named by this expedition, emptied. There, the *cayuco* made at Monterey for the *San Carlos* was discovered, filled with sand, the paddles not far away.

The cross at Point Lobos was then visited, and letters buried at the foot by Fray Vicente de Santa María were

found, telling of the safe and successful entrance into the harbor and the surveys made, and directing the land expedition to light a fire at a certain point on the beach which would be seen by the *San Carlos* at her anchorage. This was done but no answering salute followed, for, four days before, the *San Carlos* had lifted her anchor and sailed away.

Two days later, the return trip was begun, and Monterey was reached on October 1.

On the 7th, to the great joy of every one, the little consort, *Sonora*, which had been given up for lost, came into port. A fine record had been made by Captain Bodega y Cuadra, who, after having become separated from the *capitana*, *Santiago*, had pushed on to 58°, the while making a thorough survey from the point reached by Captain Juan Pérez in the *Santiago* the year before, and landing twice to take possession.

Scurvy had not spared this crew and provisions were running low, so he was forced to turn. The coast was still followed; and surveys and observations were made as best they could. On October 3, they came to anchor in a bay named, in honor of the commander, Bodega Bay. A sudden gale put an end to soundings and nearly proved their undoing, but the *Sonora* reached the open sea and made for Monterey.

About the 10th of October, the *San Carlos* sailed for San Blas.

In his report to the viceroy, Captain Juan Manuel de Ayala wrote that the Bay of San Francisco was a good port, "the best he had seen . . . from Cape Horn north . . . not one port, but many, with a single entrance" (Chapman).

The *Santiago* and *Sonora* did not sail until November 1. On the second day out, Juan Pérez, who had been ailing

for several days prior to departure, died. Commanding the *San Antonio* in the expedition of 1769, his "division by sea" had been the first by either sea or land to arrive at San Diego. From that time until his death he had been constantly in the Alta California service. When news of his death reached Monterey early in the following year, a solemn requiem mass was said for the repose of his soul.

The two vessels arrived at San Blas on November 20.

Spain had been lavish, for her, in the matter of these voyages, having expended some fifty thousand *pesos*, a large sum for that day; but the information gained was worth many times that amount to her.

It now seemed that, for the time at least, foreign encroachment could be forgotten. But Bucareli evidently believed in "preparedness," and went quietly on with plans for the defense of the northwest coast.

Missions and yet more missions was the idea of the *padre presidente*, but it had been definitely decided that until there were more troops there would be no more missions other than those already arranged for. A clause, however, had been added to the decree, which was a beacon to Serra, pointing a way out of the impasse, reading somewhat in this way: that no more were to be added "unless it be judged possible to found one or two missions by decreasing the guards of the missions nearest the presidios, together with some [soldiers] whose absence would cause no serious drawback at the presidio" (Engelhardt).

Letters went forth; answers came back; and, after some circumlocution, permission was granted by the viceroy, who was, in this matter of founding missions, very much in accord with the *padre presidente*. In a letter received by the *padre presidente* on August 10, 1775, the viceroy wrote: "I doubt not that Captain Rivera will agree to it, and

that one or two missions will be founded' " (*ibid.*). Captain Rivera evidently did agree, for on the 12th of the same month it was decided to found a mission between Mission San Gabriel Arcángel and San Diego de Alcalá. The new mission was to be under Fray Fermín de Lasuén then at Monterey.

Padre Lasuén, with Lieutenant Ortega and a sergeant journeyed south. Fray Gregório Amúrrio, who was to serve with Lasuén, joined them at Mission San Luis Obispo where he was acting as supernumerary, and remained at San Gabriel while Padre Lasuén continued on with Ortega to San Diego.

Sending word to Amúrrio to bring the church belonging and cattle for the mission and rejoin him, Padre Lasuén, Lieutenant Ortega, and twelve soldiers returned from San Diego as far as the place decided upon, La Quema, to found Mission San Juan Capistrano; and there, on October 30 mass was celebrated under a shelter of boughs.

Everything was progressing well when, on November 7 a courier arrived, bringing news that caused Lieutenant Ortega to start at once for San Diego, taking with him the sergeant and part of the soldiers.

The news received was of such character that the mission bells were buried forthwith. The two *padres* and their guard followed the lieutenant to the Presidio of San Diego, taking the church paraphernalia along.

Early in 1773, because of the possibility and the danger of harboring hostile Indians, Lieutenant Governor Don Pedro Fages had advised the removal of the *ranchería* of neophytes and also unconverted natives huddled about mission and *presidio* at San Diego, to some more distant spot. Recommended by Fages, the idea did not appeal to Serra and was vigorously opposed by him, the danger seeming far-fetched and not worth considering. However, Padre Jaime wrote to the *padre presidente*, favoring the removal

not only of the *ranchería* but of the mission itself away from the proximity of the *presidio*; and also urging the desirability of being where better crops might be raised, lack of water where they then were, at Cosoy, being a serious detriment.

The matter was referred to the viceroy, who authorized Rivera to make the change if thought advisable by him and the *padre presidente*.

In 1774, the mission was removed to a place about two leagues away, called by the Indians *Nipaguay* and commonly referred to thereafter as "San Diego de Nipaguay." The new buildings erected there were an improvement upon those at Cosoy. Construction was carried forward with enthusiasm. Roofed with *tules*—rushes—a church eighteen by fifty-seven feet was built, also a smithy of *adobes*, a dwelling for the friars, barracks for the guard, and a storehouse; but the usual *estacada*—stockade—was not thought necessary. Later, a well was dug and land made ready for sowing.

Spreading the faith at this mission had been difficult from the first, and at the end of 1774 San Diego stood at the foot of the list in the number of converts. But, during the year following the removal, affairs at the mission had gone peacefully along, and on October 3, 1775, sixty natives were baptized.

On November 4, shortly after midnight, without having aroused a suspicion, a howling horde of almost a thousand savages, having previously set fire to all the buildings, surrounded the mission, sacking and looting,—ready to destroy, ready to torture, armed and ready to kill.

The two *padres*, Luis Jaime and Vicente Fuster, and the Ortega boys, the small son and a nephew of the lieutenant, half awake, were the first to rush out, pell-mell, to find out the meaning of the pandemonium suddenly let loose. Amazed at what met their eyes, Padre Jaime never-

theless addressed the Indians, using his usual words of greeting: "*Amad a Dios, hijos!* [Love God, sons!]" But there was no love in their hearts for God or man!

The blacksmith, emerging from his quarters, sword in hand, was just in time to receive their answer to the priest's words: a fusillade of arrows. He was instantly killed.

Meanwhile, in the *mêlée*, Fray Luis Jaime was seized by the Indians and dragged away.

Finally, those remaining of the little group were driven to seek refuge in some sort of an *adobe* building, without a roof, in which was the store of gunpowder. There, the long night through, they fought for their lives, pelted by burning firebrands, with arrows coming thick and fast from every vantage point. With body and soul, literally, Fray Vicente guarded the gunpowder lest the fiery missiles fall into it, covering it with his own body and the ample robe of his order, and praying all the while.

At daybreak, the savages withdrew and did not come back.

Emerging from their precarious "stronghold," they were greeted by the neophytes, who claimed to have been held captive during the preceding night. All were fully armed, however, and in accounting for this some of them declared that they had, themselves, put the foe to flight.

No trace of Padre Jaime could be found, nor could any information as to his possible fate be elicited from the neophytes. Of that they knew nothing. Finally, in an *arroyo seco*, some distance from the mission, his body was discovered, naked, disfigured beyond recognition, bruised from head to foot, and pierced by eighteen arrows!

Urselino, one of the carpenters, sick in bed, had been fatally wounded, and indeed all had been wounded and all had fought valiantly. Just what happened to the Ortega boys during the night does not appear; but they were not killed nor, as we sometimes read, were they taken

to the *presidio* by Padre Fuster. He was otherwise fully engaged.

On that fateful night, there were twenty-two of Spanish blood at *presidio* and mission, eleven at each place; but those at the *presidio*—at Cosoy—were not attacked, and slept the night peacefully away, unaware of the tragedy being enacted at the mission.

No sentinel had been posted at either place!

A courier was sent to notify Lieutenant Ortega, commanding the Presidio of San Diego, who was then at La Quema assisting in founding Mission San Juan Capistrano.

On December 13, thirty-nine days after the attack on Mission San Diego, news of the tragedy was received by the *comandante* at Monterey.

Rivera went at once to Carmelo, to inform the *padre presidente*. Serra's manner of receiving the communication, and part of his letter to Bucareli in regard to it, may serve as a key to his viewpoint in wishing to found missions with or without proper military protection; or, it may be that he was seized by an overpowering emotion—exaltation—bordering on religious rapture or ecstasy. At all events, he exclaimed: "Thanks be to God! that land is now watered; now the conversion of the Diegueños will be effected" (Engelhardt from Palou); while, on the 15th, he wrote both to Bucareli and to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando that they were not discouraged, "but that they rather envied their fortunate companion, Fr. Luis, the happy death which he had merited" (*ibid.*).

Fearing that the leaders, if caught, might be harshly dealt with and that the establishment of Mission San Juan Capistrano might not go forward, he asked that mercy be shown the guilty; but he did descend to earth long enough to suggest that similar calamities might be averted by increasing the mission guards.

On December 16, the lieutenant governor *comandante*, with thirteen soldiers, started for the south, stationing one additional soldier at Missions San Antonio and San Luis Obispo on the way.

The entrance to the Estero de San Francisco had been seen by Rivera y Moncada at the end of 1774. The next year, in August, Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, commanding the *San Carlos*, had taken his vessel through it and into the bay, had made a thorough survey, and reported the value of the harbor to the viceroy. Captain Bruno de Heceta had led a party overland from Monterey up the peninsula to the *estero* in September of the same year, had looked about him—and returned.

At the waning of the year, 1775, nothing at all had been done by way of preparation for the coming of the soldiers and their families, and other colonists to be established there, and who were then en route with the second expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza. No buildings had been erected for their accommodation, and neither *presidio* nor mission had been founded, nor had the sites for them even been selected.

XIX

The Presidio of Tubac was the official point of departure for the second Anza expedition. With a recruiting station at San Felipe de Sinaloa, the assembling place was San Miguel de Horcasitas, where all were mustered for the preliminary march, on September 29, 1775, and everybody and everything inspected. Half past four o'clock in the afternoon had come around before the start was made and, after only one short league, a halt was called on the far side of the Río de Horcasitas.

Now thoroughly organized, the expedition moved at nine o'clock on the following morning.

The *cañon* of the Río San Ignacio, through which the expedition was to pass, gave some anxiety, and many precautions were taken against surprise by Apaches who infested the way from Horcasitas to Tubac. The gorge was ten miles in length, with precipitous walls rising in height to from five to eight hundred feet, and, in places, less than one hundred feet in width—an invitation to attack, and many massacres had been staged there by the Indians.

On the morning of the 13th of October, the *cañon* was entered, the start having been made at eight o'clock from El Guambút, where camp had been pitched on the afternoon before. Proceeding very cautiously, Anza led the expedition safely through the dreaded pass in five hours. The expedition, according to Padre Pedro Font's diary, "at one in the afternoon, halted at El Sibuta, having travelled . . . very slowly through the canyon of El Guam-

but, as it is a dangerous pass on account of the Apaches' (Teggart).

The Presidio of Tubac was reached at two o'clock in the afternoon on October 15.

On October 23, at eleven o'clock, the expedition marched from the Presidio of Tubac and was now officially on its way; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, having made about five leagues, halted at La Canoa, where, during the night, toll was paid unto Death, one unfortunate woman dying in childbirth—the only death recorded by the expedition. The body was taken for burial to Mission San Xavier del Bac, which was reached on the 25th.

On the 26th, the caravan moved on.

The order of march was about as follows: Four scouts preceded *el teniente coronel*—the lieutenant colonel—in command of the expedition, Don Juan Bautista de Anza of the Presidio of Tubac, with his personal escort; after the *comandante* came Padre Fray Pedro Font, who was to remain with the expedition throughout, and the two *padres*, Fray Hermenegildo Garcés and Fray Tomás Eixarch, who were to go only as far as the Colorado River; next were men, women, and children, with an escort of soldiers, followed by the *teniente*—lieutenant—José Joaquín Moraga, who brought up the rear guard; back of all these came the pack train and *arrieros*, the loose horses and cattle and *vaqueros*. In the caravan were more than a thousand animals. Pack mules conveyed baggage of all kinds, provisions, ammunition, and presents for the Indians.

Besides those who have already been named, the roster included: Mariano Vidal, the purveyor; Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva; eight veteran soldiers from the Sonora *presidios*; twenty recruits; ten veterans from Tubac, Anza's escort; twenty-nine women, wives of the soldiers; one hundred and thirty-six persons of both sexes, belonging to the

families of the soldiers and the four families of colonists; twenty *arrieros* and three *vaqueros*—muleteers and herders; four servants for the friars, who were to be left with the *padres*, Garcés and Eixarch; and three Indian interpreters.

Of the thirty soldiers who were to remain in California, fifteen were classed as *Españoles*, seven as mulattoes, six as *mestizos*, and two as *Indios*. They were accompanied by their families, and had been carefully selected from those "submerged in poverty." From the day of enlistment, they were cared for at government expense: they "ate with the king." Very little money was paid them—they were such gamblers—but all their needs were forestalled so far as possible. The treasury doors were unlocked, so to speak, upon this occasion. About eight hundred *pesos* were allowed for the equipment of each family, a goodly sum at that day when the necessities of life cost, according to our way of thinking, close upon nothing. Their enlistment was for ten years, and at the end of that time they were to become bona fide settlers.

On the march, the column was a long one; when the expedition was encamped, it looked like a settlement. There were, in all, thirteen tents: a big circular one for the *comandante*, two for the *padres*, one for the *teniente*, and nine for the families. As for the soldiers, their cloaks and their blankets were thought sufficient to shelter them.

In the early morning hours, when the time for breaking camp approached, a busy scene was enacted. The *caballada* and *mulada* were rounded up; soldiers and servants, carrying out orders and attending to various duties, hurried about; while packing and saddling were going on, Padre Font said mass; and, finally, all being in readiness, the commanding officer gave the order to mount—*Vayan subiendo!*—whereupon all mounted, and, as the expedition got under way, Padre Font would lift his voice in a hymn of praise—the *Alabado*—and all would join in.

At the end of the day's march, a halt was called and all dismounted; the *teniente* would report to the *comandante* "whether they were all up, or any had been left behind, and receive his orders. At night the people recited their beads, each family by itself, and finishing by singing the Alabado or Salve, or something of that sort, everyone for himself, and Font remarks that the variety had a very pleasing effect" (Coues).

Because of the many women and children—one hundred and sixty of them—a safer but longer route than that followed by the first expedition was chosen: down the Santa Cruz and Gila rivers instead of through Papaguería.

After four days of long marches from San Xavier del Bac, Padre Garcés records at the end of the fifth day and the longest march:

"Oct. 30. We approached the Rio Gila and halted at a laguna [Camani], having traveled 12 leagues

"Oct. 31. The señor comandante determined to rest our party; and in consequence of this I had an opportunity of going to see the Casa Grande that they call de Moctezuma. . . . For the present condition of this casa I refer to the description thereof that Padre Font has given . . .'" (*ibid.*).

This is taken advantage of to shift from Garcés to Font without going over the same ground, and with a few words from Coues, himself, by way of preface. He says: "With Font's own handwriting before me, I give it in as close a translation as I can make—as nearly word for word as English idiom will admit. At date of Tuesday, Oct. 31, Font says:

"Determined the señor comandante to-day to rest the people . . . and with this we had an opportunity of going to examine the Casa grande . . . to the which we went after mass, and returned after midday, accompanied by some Indians, and by the Governor of Uritú, who on

the way told us a history, and tradition, that the Pimas Gileños conserve from their ancestors concerning said Casa grande, which all reduces itself to fictions (*patrañas*) mingled confusedly with some catholic truths, the which I will notice hereafter. . . . We examined with all care this edifice, and its vestiges, whose ichnographic plan is that which here I put [pen-and-ink ground plan of the Casa, oriented . . .]: and for its better understanding I give the description and explication following: The Casa grande, or palace of Moctezuma will have from foundation some five hundred years according to the histories and scanty notices that there are of it, and the Indians give; because, as it appears, the Mexicans made this foundation when in their transmigrations the devil took them through various lands until they arrived at the promised land of Mexico, and in their sojourns, which were long, they formed settlement, and edifices. The site on which is found this Casa is . . . apart from the river Gila about one league, and the ruins of the houses which formed the settlement extend more than a league to the east and the rest of the winds; and all this ground is strewn with pieces of jars, pots, plates, &c., some plain, and others painted of various colors, white, blue, red, &c., an indication that it was a large settlement, and of a distinct people from the Pimas Gileños, since these know not to make such pottery. We made an exact inspection of the edifice . . . and we measured it with a lance for the nonce, which measurement I reduced afterward to geometrical feet” Then comes a long accurate description with measurements—none of which has place here. Font, the “journalist,” now ceases to interest.

On November 27, having halted about noon in a narrow gap of the Gila, and while they were at mess, Salvador Palma, the Yuma chief, who had been notified of the approach of the expedition, presented himself, having journeyed forth to meet *el señor comandante*.

After embracing him, Palma enquired solicitously after the health of the king and viceroy, saying how gratified he was to have seen them at Horcasitas, and how pleased he should have been had he been able to understand all they had said at that time! Who the *grandees* were he had mistaken for the more august personages does not appear. He said he had kept the peace pact except as to the Serranos, who had attacked a Spanish mission in Alta California! This gave some basis for apprehension.

He was anxious to know how soon missionaries were to be sent among his people and missions established as he had repeatedly so earnestly requested. He begged, in case no missionaries had been sent by that time, that upon the return of the *comandante* he might go with him to Mexico to plead with the viceroy to grant his request, and this Anza promised.

"November 28.—[Font records.] We set out from the pass and the banks of the Gila . . . and . . . in the afternoon, halted on the shore of the Río Colorado after fording the Río Gila for the third time, . . . About a league down stream from this place, the Río Gila joins the Río Colorado" (Teggart).

The water was too deep at the ford used by the first expedition to permit a crossing to be effected at that point; and too cold, moreover, for the Indians to convoy rafts by swimming beside them,—too slow a proceeding, even if otherwise possible, for so large a party. The Yuma Indians knew of no other ford, but the *comandante* personally sought and found another farther up stream, where the river divided into three shallow channels. A way had to be cut through a thicket, impassable for the horses, but once this was done the worst was over, although there was some little trouble negotiating the passage.

At seven o'clock on the morning of November 30, the expedition broke camp and moved up to the new ford. The pack trains took over only half loads at a time.

Women and children, mounted on the tallest horses, were safeguarded by men riding on the down-stream side as a rescue corps in case of mishap. The water was not deep, only about four feet, but the river, in its three channels, was more than eight hundred and fifty feet in width.

Fray Pedro Font, who was not well and too dizzy to manage the crossing alone, was supported by a servant on either side, while a third led his horse. Fray Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo Garcés was carried over bodily on the shoulders of three natives, two at his head, one at his feet, his face to the sky, stretched out stiff, rigid like a corpse!

By one o'clock, the whole expedition, bag and baggage, had crossed; and, proceeding about a league northwest, halted and encamped beside the river.

Fray Francisco Garcés was to be "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," to prepare the way for the coming of missionaries and the founding of missions, so earnestly prayed for by Palma, the chief of the Yuma Indians. Padre Garcés served faithfully both Church and Crown. His "wanderings" were really explorations, and his observations were very valuable as set down in his carefully kept diary, and were so considered at the time. Charminglly translated by Dr. Elliott Coues, with a running fire of footnotes, in his monograph, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*,¹ the Garcés diary is full of interest and information.

On December 5, the day following the departure of the caravan, Garcés set out, accompanied by the Indian, Sebastián Tarabal, and his two interpreters, on his way down the Colorado, weaving back and forth among the *rancherías* of the Indians. He says: "I talked to them, and exhibited the linen print of Maria Santisima and the lost soul. They told me that she was a nice lady, that señora; that the lost soul was very bad I laid before them the proposition,

whether they wished that Españoles and padres should come to live in their land, and they answered 'Yes' . . . for then they would have meat and clothing. I gave them some tobacco and glass beads, with which they were much pleased."

As to "the linen print," he says, elsewhere: "Foreseeing that I could not explain myself better to the Indians than with images of the kind most familiar to their sight, I determined to carry a linen print of Maria Santisima with Niño Dios in her arms, having on the other side the picture of a lost soul. In all the entradas I have made among the gentiles I have observed that the divine crucifix which I wore on my breast caused their devotion"

Back and forth, visiting the various *rancherías*, he arrived at Santa Olalla; and, under date of December 7, set down: "I remained at the Laguna de Santa Olalla in company with the señor comandante, Padre Font, and the whole expedition."

So striking is the contrast in the characters of Font and Garcés that it is continually forcing itself upon one in the diaries of the two *padres*: Font, with a "chip on his shoulder," petty, grouchy, caustic—even unchristian—in his criticisms, egotistical, full of grievances, his pages bristle with accounts of the abominably unfair treatment accorded him; with Garcés, vitally interested in his explorations, his observations, his work among the Indians—trying to solve the problem of their possible regeneration, exalted over the psychological reaction to "the linen print" of the Madonna, the personal equation does not enter.

Garcés had no thoughts to waste upon himself. An example is the following: Garcés writes, on December 1, 1775, "We went—the señor comandante, Padre Tomás (Eisarc), and I—with some muleteers (*arrieros*) to the house of Captain Palma, which was distant from the place

where we had halted about one league westward, for the purpose of building the hut (*xacal*) which had to serve as our habitation until the return of the expedition. This evening Captain Palma put on the clothes which the señor viceroy had presented to him in recognition of the good services he has rendered to the Españoles."

In the Font diary, the same episode is treated as follows: " 'Captain Palma appeared in the uniform which had been given to him. . . . The señor comandante brought the clothes on behalf of the Viceroy, and gave them to Palma this night, and made him put them on in his (Anza's) tent, without our concurrence, or letting us know anything about it; for he is so fond of keeping to himself all his actions, and setting himself up in the opinion of others, that he will let nobody else have a hand in his affairs, nor admit to his presence anyone who might in any way attract the attention of the people he wants to keep for himself' " (Coues, note).

Don Juan Bautista, the bearer of this gift from the viceroy to the Indian chief, was in one sense, at least, an envoy extraordinary. Every one knows how the temperature soars at Yuma! Bucareli's recognition of Palma's loyalty consisted of a sleeveless coat of blue cloth lined with gold, two shirts, a jacket and trousers of chamois skin, and a bejeweled velvet cap ornamented with the coat of arms of the dragoons. Truly a remarkable gift to one accustomed to going about with an airy nothing on in the way of clothing.

And the *padre* grumbled on: " 'So, though it would have been more regular for the presentation of glass beads and tobacco which he brought for the gentiles in the name of his majesty to have been made to the Indians at the hands of we three padres who accompanied the expedition, in order to exalt their minds, since in the end the religious have to be their ministers, and the Indians are inclined to recognize those who make them presents; nevertheless, the

señor comandante always made such distributions with his own hand, and would never let us do it, and not once on the whole journey did he ask me if I wanted a string of beads to give to some Indian, excepting . . . where he gave me a few strings for which I begged' " (*ibid.*).

We hear from Font that when Palma and Pablo were in his (Font's) tent, and while he was talking to them, ". . . Anza sent for Palma, for no other purpose than to get him away from the padre's tent, for it did not suit him to have anyone talk to the Indians, especially to captains, or give them any instructions; and in order to entertain the Indians he got up a dance for them by the light of the fire in front of his tent, so that Font had no chance to say anything more" (*ibid.*).

In reference to the *xacal*, Garcés says, "The hut was finished The señor comandante issued to Padre Fray Tomás and to me what was allowed us for our subsistence" (*ibid.*). Anza had personally seen to the building of the hut, had set aside provisions for the *padres*, and given them beads and trinkets for the Indians; but Font, taking it upon himself to do a little investigating, prodding Anza and probing for details, went just a little too far and got what he richly deserved—a good snubbing. Says Coues, "Then Anza got very hot, and wanted to know whose business that was, saying that he did not have to give Font reasons for anything he did; that he was already doing more than he was obliged to do in building the hut, as he had no orders to that effect"

Font found that "these señores who command such expeditions have nobody over them to contend with, and are so absolute that there is need of real patience in putting up with them"; while Garcés speaks of Anza's unlimited patience in dealing with the Indians, "worthy to be imitated by all who devote themselves to such enterprises."

Of Font, generally, Coues says: "Let us sympathize with poor Font, snubbed and abused, truculent and jealous,

while we admire the discipline enforced in all things, great and small, by the model commanding officer Anza."

At Santa Olalla, "the linen print" was displayed with the usual results by Garcés, who writes that he ". . . showed them the image of Maria Santisima and the figure of the lost soul All showed by their great delight how much they were pleased with Maria Santisima, exclaiming that everything was all right, but the sight of the lost soul so horrified them that they would not look at it and wanted the picture reversed; and (also exclaiming) that it suited them that the padres and Españoles should come to their lands."

Coues, the translator of the above, says, "Lest I be suspected of embroidering the passage a bit, I give the original: . . . 'all with great joy manifested how much Holy Mary suited them, shouting that all was very good; but the sight of the damned caused them such horror that they wished not to see it.' It would be hardly credible that a grown-up man could write such nonsense—but there it is! The gentle, lovable Garcés, simple as a child in religion, his heart inflamed with zeal for souls, clutched at every straw which seemed to show which way the wind blew for his missionary enterprise. Font himself seems to have been immensely edified by the performance, though he was a stark theologian who detested and despised Indians, seeking their salvation only in an official and perfunctory manner. His Diary has the following on the same occasion: 'In the evening Padre Garcés assembled the Indians, distributed a little tobacco and some beads, and then showed them a grand picture of the SSma Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, and they manifested a great joy and hurrah at seeing the image, and said, through the interpreters, that it was good, . . . He [Garcés] whipped about the cloth, on the reverse of which was painted a lost soul, and they raised a loud cry, saying that that did not suit them, etc. He did the same with the Gileños,

Opas, and Yumas, and all responded alike. . . . It seems to me that a great Christianity could be had in these nations; yet, such is the fickleness of Indians that a pretty big presidio is always necessary”

Garcés now set out on one of his “wanderings,” the entry in his diary for that day being, “Having taken leave of the señor comandante, of Padre Font, and of all the expedition, I departed”

Of Garcés, Padre Font writes: “Padre Garcés is so fit to get along with Indians, and go about among them, that he seems just like an Indian himself. He shows in everything the coolness of the Indian; he squats cross-legged in a circle with them, or at night around the fire, for two or three hours or even longer, all absorbed, forgetting aught else, discoursing to them with great serenity and deliberation; and though the food of the Indians is as nasty and disgusting as their dirty selves, the padre eats it with great gusto, and says that it is appetising, and very nice. In fine, God has created him, I am sure, totally on purpose to hunt up these unhappy, ignorant and boorish people” (Coues, note).

Of the two, Coues writes, “There is all the difference between the Good Samaritan and the Pharisee. Font could have preached and quoted *De Imitatione Christi*; Garcés was imitating Christ.”

For the desert crossing, the expedition was divided into three sections, starting from the Laguna de Santa Olalla on consecutive days, the first on December 9, in order that the water holes might have time to refill.

On the 13th, the *comandante*, with the first division, halted at the Ranchería de San Sebastián and encamped, to await the arrival of the other two. On the 15th, Sergeant Grijalva brought his division safely into camp, nothing more serious than the usual hardships of such a

journey having been experienced by either. The third division, under Lieutenant Moraga, did not come up with the other two on the next day, as expected, and, in fact, did not make the camp until the afternoon of the 17th, after battling its way through wind, snow, and rain; the desert crossing for this division, caught in a wild storm, had been a terrible experience; Moraga had suffered keenly, and later, from the exposure at that time, became totally deaf.

Clippings from Padre Font's diary furnish the following:

"December 18.—We set out from San Sebastián at one in the afternoon, and, . . . halted in a bottom with some grass and without water, . . ." at the base of a wall of mountains facing the desert, towering snow-clad above them.

"December 19.—We set out from the bottom . . . in the morning, and . . . in the afternoon, arrived at San Gregorio, a place with little grass and less water

"December 20.— . . . Last night the cattle stampeded from lack of water, and made for San Sebastián.

"December 23.— . . . a little before three, halted . . . in a canyon that runs on up, and through it passes the road that crosses the Sierra Madre de California."

The next day, the 24th, after traveling about four leagues, the expedition halted "in the same canyon in a dry gully," according to the *padre*, and camp was made.

The weather was bitterly cold and these immigrants, coming from mild climates, suffered intensely. About midnight, one poor woman-thing gave birth to a child. Whether the small being came into the world as Christmas Eve was disappearing or after the new day had been ushered in is of no importance. In the various ways in which the advent has been chronicled, however, there is room between the lines for a thought or two to appear,—signposts for a hasty little *détour* into superficial philosophy. Good, patient Don Juan Bautista notes that "she is the

third who has done this thing between Tubac and this place." Dr. Chapman writes: "One of the women chose this period to be delivered of a child" (A remarkable choice, had she any in the matter!) The *padre* records, "December 25.—For the reason that on this holy night of the Nativity, a little before midnight, the wife of a soldier happily gave birth to a son, and because the day was very raw and foggy, it was decided to remain today" (Teggart).

Padre Font celebrated three masses on that Christmas Day, preached, and baptized the new-born child.

At a quarter after nine o'clock on the following morning, the expedition continued the ascent, the sick woman, according to Eldredge, having "the courage for the march." Be that as it may, the unfortunate creature moved on with the rest of the cavalcade. After a stiff, hard climb of five hours, the Royal Pass of San Carlos was reached. There a halt was made because of rain. On that day, not only was there rain and cold to endure but a thunderstorm; and, at five o'clock, an earthquake shock occurred, lasting, according to different authorities, from a very short while to four minutes—a very long time when minutes are measured by an earthquake.

On the 27th, Anza sent two soldiers on ahead to announce his approach to the lieutenant governor, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, at Monterey, and to the various missions. He specially requested Captain Rivera to be in readiness to accompany him to the Río de San Francisco, to carry out the orders of His Excellency the Viceroy.

On the 28th, the expedition remained in camp in the Cañada de San Patricio, because, Font says, "This morning the woman recently delivered was found to be ill." What with rain, cold, a thunderstorm, an earthquake, and the long marches, added to the throes imposed by nature, she was on the verge of convulsions but responded to treat-

ment, and they were on their way again on the following morning.

The Santa Ana River was reached on the last day of the year, 1775. Again, the river being in flood, *el señor comandante* was obliged to have a bridge constructed, which was not completed until twelve o'clock of the following day, New Year's Day, 1776. Women and children were taken over first, followed by all the rest and the baggage. The loose animals were made to swim, and one horse and an ox were swept away and drowned. It was three o'clock when at last all had crossed. Camp was made for the night on the west bank of the river.

Anza's *avant courier* now returned, bringing word from the corporal of the mission guard at San Gabriel of the attack on the mission at San Diego, on the night of November 4; that the Indians were gathering about San Gabriel and their attitude was very threatening. He had sent word to *el señor comandante* at Monterey, and was expecting him to arrive at any moment.

On the next day, Lieutenant Colonel Anza despatched two soldiers to the mission, announcing his early arrival.

Advancing as rapidly as weather permitted, through a heavy downpour of rain and a little snow, camp was made on the night of the 2d on San Antonio Creek; on the 3d, on the San Gabriel River; and at eleven o'clock on the morning of January 4, 1776, the expedition came to a halt at Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, seventy-three days from the Presidio of Tubac.

Lieutenant Governor Captain Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada had arrived on the previous day.

XX

The crisis at San Diego, as of the most immediate importance, took precedence of all else in the conferences following the meeting of the *comandantes* at San Gabriel. Circumstances, trifling in themselves, led to the conclusion that this was no purely local demonstration; but that a widespread restlessness existed, extending even to far distant *rancherías*, indicative of a desire on the part of the Indians to rid the land of the Spaniards.

News of the San Diego affair had gone as far afield as the territory of the Yumas, Salvador Palma having told Lieutenant Colonel Anza of an attack upon an Alta California mission. As the expedition had advanced toward the scene of the tragedy, the increasing unfriendliness of certain Indians, never very friendly, was apparent: "straws in the wind!"

With no adequate force to cope with the situation, Captain Rivera asked aid of Anza, who, disregarding even the orders of the viceroy in this emergency, not only agreed to assist him but to serve under him.

The entire permanent military force in Alta California at that time, guarding two *presidios* and five widely separated missions, consisted of the *comandante*, one lieutenant, two ensigns or sublieutenants, two sergeants, eight corporals, and fifty-four soldiers, with one armorer and a drummer.

On January 7, Rivera with twelve men and Anza with seventeen, all lightly equipped, accompanied by Fray Pedro Font, set out for San Diego.

Such a little handful, at best, to go forth to meet such hordes!

Moraga, who had just received his commission as lieutenant, was left in command at San Gabriel.

On January 11, this punitive expedition arrived at the Presidio of San Diego. Investigations in the matter of the uprising began on the 13th. On the 16th, Rivera began sending out parties of soldiers to the various *rancherías* where the instigators, renegades from the mission, ring-leaders in the attack, were supposed to be in hiding. Upon word being passed from one to another of the approach of the troops, they would betake themselves to the mountains; but on the 26th, nine, with two lesser lights, were rounded up and brought in.

On February 1, reports to the viceroy were despatched via Baja California.

Anza and Rivera, antipodal by nature, did not coöperate very well, and nothing effective was being done toward solving the problems of the Indian situation. No concerted action was taken, nor was any possible, for, after a time, Rivera, although he was using Anza's soldiers, ceased to consult with him, thus forcing Anza to play a waiting game and postponing the carrying out by him of the viceroy's orders. This view was evidently held by Fray Pedro Font at the time; he records that: "Every day we talked a great deal about Monterey, and more yet of the San Francisco Port; the Señor Rivera ever saying that we could omit this trip, as we would not attain the object of it. . . . 'What is your object in going there?' he would say. 'To get tired out? I have told you that I have examined everything well, and have informed the Viceroy that there is nothing there suitable for that which he has planned.' . . . 'Friend,' replied Señor Anza, ending the discussion, 'I am going there . . .'" (Richman, from Font's *Diario*, complete).

It would seem as though, opposed to the plan for mission, *presidio*, and colony at San Francisco, and having done nothing himself toward carrying out orders in regard to them, Rivera did not wish Anza to reap the glory, if any should develop.

Tired of drifting from one *mañana* to another, looking on at Rivera's incapacity and inability to meet the situation, on the 9th of February, Don Juan Bautista turned his back upon San Diego, leaving Rivera ten of his men under Sergeant Grijalva, and marched away northward to execute his commission.

Arriving at San Gabriel on the 12th, he found that Lieutenant Moraga had gone in pursuit of some soldiers from Monterey, who, with four *arrieros* and servants of the expedition, had deserted, taking thirty animals and some other things along. Leaving word for Moraga to follow him with the rest of the expedition, Anza resumed his march on the 21st, taking with him seventeen men with their families and pack trains. On March 7, he was overtaken at Mission San Antonio by Moraga, who had apprehended the deserters and left them tied up at San Gabriel. On the 10th, at four-thirty in the afternoon, the expedition "arrived at the Real Presidio del Puerto de Monterey [Royal Presidio of the Port of Monterey]" (Teggart).

Fray Junípero Serra, with four other friars, came the next morning from Mission San Carlos, to bid the lieutenant colonel and the expedition welcome. Says Font: "It was decided that we should go to the mission [of San Carlos] del Carmelo, as much to accede to the solicitations of the father-presidente, as, and that principally—because there was no place in the presidio for us to lodge; the lieutenant of the expedition, with the people who were being brought, remained at the presidio. The Commander, I, and some few others set out from the presidio of Monterey at four in the afternoon, and, at five, arrived at the mission of San Carlos del Carmelo. . . . Here the fathers—there

were seven of them—received us, singing the Te Deum, with peals of bells, and great rejoicing" (*ibid.*).

On March 13, Lieutenant Colonel Anza became very ill, suffered acutely, and was obliged to remain in bed. During this time, orders arrived at the *presidio* from Captain Rivera that the prospective colonists were to erect houses for themselves at Monterey, where they were to remain until such time as the *presidio*, mission, etc., could be established at San Francisco. This unexpected development filled the colonists with consternation, while the four missionaries, who had been waiting so long for the two missions to which they had been assigned to be founded in the vicinity of San Francisco,—already victims of that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick,"—were cast into the depth of disappointment.

Rivera's orders and the effect of them were reported by Lieutenant Moraga to Lieutenant Colonel Anza, at Carmelo, who, thereupon, despatched a letter to Rivera, stating that the soldiers and their families were becoming greatly discouraged at the already long delay and were anxious to reach their destination. He urged Rivera to join them in carrying out the orders of the viceroy, but said that, in any event, he, himself, should proceed to make surveys and new examinations of the port.

His personal orders had been to deliver the expedition to Rivera, the *comandante* of Alta California, at Monterey, and then to proceed to make a survey of the Río de San Francisco.

After the departure of Lieutenant Colonel Anza from San Diego, Captain Rivera y Moncada—or Rivera and the friars between them—created new complications.

One of the neophytes, an Indian called "Carlos," had been implicated in the attack on the mission, of November 4, of the year before, 1775, to the full extent of being

one of the murderers. He had returned to the mission, seemingly repentant, and had sought sanctuary in the building where services were conducted in lieu of the church burned by the savages.

Engelhardt, whose fine, conscientious work is constantly quoted in these pages in matters of Alta California church history, finds cause for complaint in the way "this case has been misrepresented." Drawing upon both Palou and Font, his version is based upon letters written by Lasuén, Amúrrio, and Vicente Fuster, at San Diego at the time, which were taken north by Rivera shortly after the occurrence and delivered to Serra at Monterey.

This—a firm, well-beaten historical path—will be followed: "When Fr. Vicente discovered him [Carlos] . . . he went in person to the captain, told what had happened, and asked him to see what could be done in a quiet way. The captain replied that . . . he would consider it."

Rivera then sent an "official notice . . . requesting him [Fuster] to deliver up the guilty Indian . . . who for his crime [murder] could not claim the right of sanctuary, the more so as the room where holy Mass was celebrated was not a church, but a warehouse, and that therefore he should be given up within so many hours, and if this was not done he would be taken out by force and imprisoned in the guardhouse."

In a note, he (Engelhardt) says: "Rivera must have known the law on the subject which prescribed that he must give formal assurance that the culprit would be treated according to law, in a word, that he should have a fair trial. . . . If he was ignorant, Fr. Vicente's note soon enlightened him. The friars . . . were more than a match for their aggressors and opponents when it came to lay down either civil or ecclesiastical laws."

Padre Fuster drew up a reply to Rivera's demand, stating that the "Indian could not be delivered up; that if His

Honor dared to extract him forcibly His Honor would stand excommunicated, and that this reply served as formal warning." By way of answer, taking with him a squad of soldiers, "with drawn sword in one hand and a lighted candle in the other he [Rivera] entered the chapel . . . dragged him out . . . to be put into the stocks. . . . Fr. Vicente, as the missionary in charge, protested against the violation of the church, and in a loud voice declared that the captain and all the others who had concurred in dragging the Indian from the church were excommunicated, and that they must regard themselves as such" (*ibid.*).

Just here, in a note, in *Missions and Missionaries of California*, Engelhardt, himself a Franciscan friar, makes a special point. He says: "Fr. Fuster, therefore, did not excommunicate Rivera, but merely declared that by his sacrilegious act the captain had incurred excommunication, that is to say, had put himself outside the Church."

Thus explained, it is easily understood. But it is quite technical, difficult of comprehension for the ordinary layman, and too fine a point, also, for the historian who is lacking in church lore to deal with unaided. It is easy, therefore, to see how misstatements may have been made, unintentionally, as to what did actually happen to Rivera upon that unfortunate occasion.

"Next day Fr. Vicente twice sent a formal notice to Rivera, requesting him to return the culprit to the sanctuary under pain of having the excommunication published; but the captain would not even read them" (*ibid.*).

Two days later, just before mass was sung, Fray Lasuén addressed those who had assembled (in part) thus: "Señores . . . all who have concurred in taking . . . the Indian whom they hold imprisoned in the guardhouse are excommunicated and as such they cannot assist at holy Mass. If any of them are in the church they will leave; if they do not leave I cannot celebrate holy Mass.' There-

upon those who had taken part in the proceedings departed, and then High Mass was sung. This was the report to which the three Fathers affixed their names" (*ibid.*).

A few days later, when Captain Rivera set out for Monterey, he was the bearer of this report, denunciatory to himself, addressed to the *padre presidente*.

At San Gabriel, the unhappy man, who must have been "possessed of a devil," ran into more trouble.

After a long journey of exploration,—his "wanderings" since bidding the Anza expedition good-by, at Santa Olalla, having covered many leagues,—Fray Francisco Garcés had arrived, on March 24, at Mission San Gabriel, in need of provisions, and, in order to continue on his way northward, and out of the province by a different route, he needed an escort. Asking, he was refused assistance by the corporal of the mission guard, as, for one reason, there was a food shortage at the time. Thereupon, the *padre* wrote to the lieutenant governor, at San Diego, making known his wants; but his answer was as flat a refusal as had been that of the corporal at San Gabriel.

A few days after his reply had been received, Don Fernando arrived at the mission in person. Garcés then laid the matter before him, but Rivera refused to aid him in any way. Garcés urged that an order from him for provisions would be honored by the friars; that, as there were many animals belonging to the expedition, his needs of that kind could, also, be met; that, as the journey could not be made without an escort and as the *señor comandante* was on his way to Monterey, he be allowed to accompany him to a point beyond the upper end of the Santa Bárbara Channel. For the third time, Rivera refused him assistance, saying that he had received no orders in the matter from His Excellency, the viceroy. Finally, he did let him have a horse belonging to the Anza expedition.

Fray Garcés was supplied by the missionaries, so far as

might be, and, on April 9, departed over a pass in the *sierra*, by way of the San Fernando Valley.

Of course, Garcés was making these explorations, which were of great value, under instructions from Bucareli, but, nevertheless, this controversy had ensued upon the arrival of that maker of trouble, Rivera y Moncada, whose heartless discourtesy to the *padre* was such that, to Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, "It lends color to the opinion of his associates that the California commander, upon whom then rested the ban of excommunication, might not be in his right mind."

Rivera had been directly unkind; had not assisted him in such ways as he could, as was palpably his duty, and, indirectly, had hindered him; but, in writing of the episode, later, at Mission Tubutama, where he revised his diary, Garcés reviews the whole matter quietly, dispassionately, impersonally, and with dignity.

When Don Juan Bautista de Anza took to his bed on March 13, he was acutely ill, but on the 17th was somewhat better. On the 20th, he had so far recovered that he decided to resume the march northward, and on the 22d, at three o'clock, departed from Mission San Carlos, arriving at the Presidio of Monterey within the hour, from which place the start was made the next morning.

The party consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Anza, Padre Font, Lieutenant Moraga, eight soldiers from Sonora and two from the *presidio* who had made the journey with Captain Don Pedro Fages in 1772;—in all, with servants and *arrieros*, twenty persons.

The route of the expedition of 1774, under Captain Rivera, was followed until, after passing the Arroyo de San Francisco, Anza, not swerving so far to the left, proceeded by a more direct way up the peninsula to Mountain Lake.

On March 26, the Arroyo de San Mateo was crossed,

and, about one short league beyond, camp was pitched "at a small, almost dry, watercourse," according to Font, who records: "March 27.—We set out from the small water course at seven in the morning and, a little after eleven, halted beside a pond or spring of fine water near the mouth of the port of San Francisco . . . a wonder of nature, and may be called the port of ports, on account of its great capacity and various bights included in its litoral or shore and in its islands. . . . The inner end of the entrance is formed by two very steep and high cliffs, on this side a white cliff; and on the other side a red one Some six or eight leagues out to sea, a group of rather large rocky islets (*farallones*) can be seen . . . [and] farther out, four other *farallones*"

A very full day followed this one,—eventful, too, for decisions made on that day by Don Juan Bautista de Anza laid permanent foundations. Font's diary for that date is interesting. He says:

"March 28.—The commander decided to erect the holy cross on the extremity of the white cliff at the inner point of the entrance to the port, and we went there at eight o'clock in the morning. We ascended a small low hill, and then entered a table-land [*mesa*], entirely clear, of considerable extent, and flat, with a slight slope toward the port; . . . narrowing until it ends in the white cliff [*el cantil blanco*]. This table-land commands a most wonderful view, as from it a great part of the port is visible, with its islands, the entrance, and the ocean, as far as the eye can reach—even farther than the *farallones*. The commander marked this table-land as the site of the new settlement, and the fort which is to be established at this port, for, from its being on a height it is so commanding that the entrance of the mouth of the port can be defended by musket-fire, and at the distance of a musket-shot there is water for the use of the people, that is, the spring or pond where we halted.

"From there the commander decided to go and inspect the low hills leading toward the inner part of the port. . . . I accompanied the commander for a while, and, at ten in the morning, . . . returned to the camp to make an observation."

Following the record closely but condensing the *padre's* story, somewhat: "About five in the afternoon the commander and the lieutenant returned . . . very much pleased . . ." having found brush and firewood; water in abundance; tillable ground and pasture—all close at hand; materials, in the woods, for building huts, barracks, and stockades, lacking only timber for large edifices, obtainable, however, at no very great distance away, on the plain—some three leagues north of the Arroyo de San Francisco—"called the Llano de los Robles because it is very densely grown with all sizes of oaks, from which very good lumber may be taken out.

"March 29.—At a quarter past seven in the morning we set out from the lake or spring where the Arroyo del Puerto has its source, and halted . . . at the Arroyo de San Mateo

"As a result of the reconnoissance made yesterday, the commander decided to set out from the port by skirting the hills which surround it . . . and to follow the inner shore until he should reach the level ground. For this reason he sent off the pack-train by the direct road with orders to stop at the Arroyo de San Mateo. We ourselves, taking a different route . . . arrived at a beautiful stream, which, because this was the Friday of Sorrows [Friday before Palm Sunday], we called the Arroyo de los Dolores."

Crossing the hills, the expedition moved on down the peninsula. "From a slight eminence," records the *padre*, "I . . . noticed . . . a very high spruce tree [El Palo Alto], which is to be seen at a great distance, rising . . . like a . . . tower from the Llano de los Robles—it stands

on the banks of the Arroyo de San Francisco; later on I measured its height

"We travelled . . . skirting the hills until we came out on the plain Here the commander decided to . . . examine . . . the Cañada de San Andrés, which lies in the range wooded with spruce—they also call this tree *palo colorado* [redwood]—to see if it contained good timber for the settlement at the port.

". . . As we followed it we saw . . . several kinds of good timber: oak, madroño, spruce, . . . and other trees About a league back, a huge bear, which we succeeded in killing, appeared in our path—there are many bears in this district.

"March 30.—We set out from the Arroyo de San Mateo . . . [and arrived] at the Arroyo de San Francisco. Beside this stream is the redwood tree I spoke of yesterday; I measured its height with the graphometer . . . and . . . found it to be some fifty yards high, more or less; the trunk was five yards and a half in circumference at the base, and the soldiers said that there were still larger ones in the mountains" (Teggart).

In the late afternoon, camp was made beside a small river, about a league from its mouth, flowing into the bay of San Francisco, and about eighteen leagues distant from the site marked for the proposed Presidio of San Francisco. On the previous day, the vicinity of the Arroyo de los Dolores had seemed especially well adapted for a mission, and at this place conditions seemed favorable for another.

From there, the expedition moved on around the toe of the bay and up the eastern side, following the route traced by Padre Juan Crespí when with the Fages expedition of 1772.

As far as the Río de San Francisco they went, and, turning, as far as they were able to make their way—for everything was in flood. When watercourses could no longer

be traced and only water and *tules* lay before them, they turned about and began the return march on April 4, and on the day after Easter, April 8, the expedition arrived at Monterey.

No answer arriving from Captain Rivera, Anza determined to wait no longer but to set out at once on the return march to Sonora. On the 12th, he despatched four soldiers under Sergeant José María Góngora with a letter to Captain Rivera y Moncada, requesting him to meet him at San Gabriel on the 25th or 26th, that they might come to some agreement in the matter of the San Francisco establishments entrusted to them both. On the 13th, he crossed the peninsula to the Presidio of Monterey and turned over the command of the expedition to Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga.

Don Juan Bautista de Anza was loved and respected by those he had conducted safely over the sands of the desert, through mountain passes and across rivers, each with its own danger, in the long journey from Sonora into Alta California, and there were many tears shed the next day at the time of his departure. All felt keenly the withdrawal of his strong, kindly, guiding hand, and this feeling of regret was shared by the friars assembled to bid him Godspeed.

XXI

Quite a cavalcade, led by Lieutenant Colonel Anza, departed from the Presidio of Monterey on the morning of April 14, the day the homeward march was begun; in all, about thirty persons—some for one place, some for another—including soldiers and the personal escort of *el señor comandante*. There were nineteen pack mules, three being for Mission San Antonio; and in a hamper on one of the mules was some unusual freight: four cats for the missions at San Gabriel and San Diego, overrun with rats.

Lieutenant Moraga accompanied the party to Buenavista on the Río de Monterey, about six leagues from the *presidio*. Says Font in his *Diario*: "As I knew what would happen to him, I said to him while parting, 'God grant you much consolation, and deliver you from the spite and aversion of Captain Rivera.'"

On April 15, on the way from Buenavista to La Cañada de San Bernabé, the soldiers, who had been despatched by Anza with the letter to Rivera, were met returning. The sergeant, the bearer of two letters from Captain Rivera, whom they had met not far from Mission San Antonio on his way to Monterey, was in a very perturbed state of mind and begged the *comandante* to grant him a few moments alone. He reported that when he had tendered the letter entrusted to him, Captain Rivera had refused to receive it and had bade him begone (or, according to Bancroft, saying, "Well, well; retire!"); but the next day, had demanded it, and when he had delivered the letter, Captain Rivera had thrust it into his pouch without opening it and had handed him the two letters he had just brought. He said the captain had been extremely unkind

to him, and had reduced him from the rank of sergeant! He reported the captain as approaching, not far behind him, in a most ungodly temper; that those who were with him had said that he had been excommunicated at San Diego for having dragged forth from the chapel, against the protests of the *padres*, one of the Indians mixed up in the attack on the mission, and that the captain was surely not in his right mind!

Upon reading the communications just received from Rivera, Anza found them to be simply curt refusals to do anything toward the San Francisco establishments.

Pacifying Sergeant Góngora as best he could, he sent him on to Monterey.

The expedition had proceeded a little farther, when the wrathful captain was encountered. "‘He was wrapped in a blue blanket and wore a cap half covering his face, leaving visible no more than the right eye and a little of the beard, which he wore very long’" (Richman).

No real halt was made; merely a few words were exchanged by these two Spanish officers, perfunctory greetings, inquiries after health, Rivera saying he was ill and Anza that he was sorry he was. Not a syllable had been uttered about the San Francisco matter, in which the two were to coöperate in carrying out the orders of the viceroy, when, with only a casual "Adios, Don Juan," Rivera put spurs to his mule and rode away!

Anza was so incensed at Rivera's open discourtesy that he called after him: "Your reply to my letter may be sent to Mexico or whithersoever you like!" To which Rivera replied, "Very well."

The lieutenant governor, Captain Rivera y Moncada, then continued on his way, arriving at Monterey on the 15th. But after arrival, he did not go to Carmelo, saying that he was not well and, for this reason, requested the *padre presidente* to visit him. Accompanied by three of the

friars from San Carlos, Fray Junípero did so—not in the least expecting, or prepared to hear, what Rivera was about to disclose. Delivering the letters entrusted to him by the *padres* whose disapproval he had incurred, and asking absolution, he announced “that Fr. Fuster of San Diego had excommunicated him” (Engelhardt).

Serra withheld his decision until he could read the reports brought him by the culprit.

Consulting with the five friars then at the mission, “All were of the opinion that Rivera without a doubt had incurred excommunication The Fr. Presidente then informed the captain that he approved of Fr. Fuster’s action, and that nothing could be done until the Indian Carlos had been restored to the sanctuary whence he had been removed without the consent of the missionaries. The missionary of San Diego could then give absolution” (*ibid.*).

Serra then prepared reports in the matter to be sent to the guardian of the College of San Fernando, Fray Francisco Pángua, sending Fray Benito Cambón with an escort to overtake Don Juan Bautista de Anza and put them in his care for delivery. Fray Cambón was also the bearer of a letter from Captain Rivera to the lieutenant colonel—an apology and a request—asking Anza to meet him either at San Luis Obispo or San Gabriel. On the 20th, the friar overtook the expedition and delivered the letter, together with one from Moraga, in which the lieutenant volunteered the opinion that the captain was insane.

After Padre Cambón’s departure from Monterey—in fact, the very next day—Rivera, himself, set out for the south, and on the 21st, the day after the *padre* had delivered his letter to Anza, three soldiers, part of his escort, presented themselves at San Luis Obispo, saying that *el capitan* was very tired and had halted about one

league out to rest. Anza now notified Rivera that he would confer with him, in the matter of the San Francisco expedition, at San Gabriel—but only in writing.

The next day, the 22d, at about noon, *el capitan*, himself, arrived at the mission, where he remained less than an hour—the two officers not meeting—drank the cup of chocolate offered him, and proceeded on his way!

Anza did not resume his journey until the day after Rivera had passed through San Luis, taking care not to overtake him, not being desirous of any further conversation with the *comandante*.

(Parenthetically, in this connection, it seems advisable to state that dates and details of no especial importance vary with the original chroniclers.)

Captain Rivera arrived at San Gabriel on April 27, and took up his abode at the mission. But when Lieutenant Colonel Anza arrived on the 29th, although welcomed by the friars, he declined their hospitality and remained in camp. He sent to Rivera maps of his surveys, with descriptions, and places marked for *presidio*, mission, and settlement. But he was unyielding, all communications between the two being in writing.

A flash light thrown by Padre Font—an exposition in very few words—gives a clearly defined glimpse of the situation. He records: "April 30.—We remained at this mission, and the two commanders communicated with each other in writing concerning their affairs. May 1.—The two commanders continued their correspondence" (Teggart).

This was Rivera's second experience of this kind, since his arrival in Alta California as lieutenant governor.

The march to Sonora began on May 2,—Captain Rivera leaving San Gabriel for San Diego on the 3d,—but at the Santa Ana River, again a messenger overtook the expedition, the bearer of a letter from Rivera "who wrote that

he had been so busy over the papers in the affair at San Diego that he had had no time to write to his excellency, the viceroy. He begged Anza to make his excuses to the viceroy and at the same time enclosed him a letter to be delivered to the father guardian of the College of San Fernando. Anza, who was out of patience with Rivera's trifling and considered it disrespectful for him to write to the guardian and not to the viceroy, refused to receive the letter and sent it back" (Eldredge).

The expedition reached Laguna de Santa Olalla on the morning of May 9, and on the 11th was at Puerto de la Concepción, on the Río Colorado.

Fray Tomás Eixarch was found at this place, but Garcés had not returned and no news had been received from him. The expedition was able to report that he had appeared at Mission San Gabriel in Holy Week, disappearing through a pass in the mountains into the wilds again.

On September 17 of that year, 1776, Garcés arrived at his own mission, San Xavier del Bac, having journeyed, after leaving San Gabriel, by way of the Tulare Valley back to Mojave and down the river to Yuma, and on up the Gila, —having traveled more than nine hundred leagues—and, according to Arricivita, having seen "more than twenty-five thousand Indians."

The Colorado was in flood and rising fast, leagues in width and, because of boggy ground, unapproachable both above and below where it was forced into a narrow channel some four hundred *varas* in length and about one hundred in width, between low hills. Here, the current was terrific, but the ground to the water's edge was firm. At this place, the crossing needs must be made, and, with preparations and concluding details, the better part of four days, which included all of two, was thus consumed. Rafts had to be conveyed by thirty or forty Indians swimming beside them

to direct their course, but the passage was attended with both difficulty and danger. Eddies had to be reckoned with, and at one perilous moment, when a raft was about to be submerged, more than two hundred Indians were in the water struggling to save it. Rafts were greatly damaged in transit by the tremendous force of the water, one being broken up and never reaching its destination. Therefore, everything possible was "divided into small portions . . . [and] sent over in *coritas* [large, shallow, water-tight baskets], and *cajetes grandes* [flat, earthen bowls], which the women, swimming, pushed before them like little boats. Owing to the swiftness of the current a woman would have to swim more than fifteen hundred varas—four-fifths of a mile—in going and coming, and they had to bring back the empty vessels. Anza says that some of the women made twelve trips. All they asked for the service was a few glass beads, which Anza gave them in abundance" (*ibid.*).

No missionaries having arrived since the departure of the caravan for Alta California, Lieutenant Colonel Anza found Palma had made preparations, delegated his authority, and in accordance with the promise made him, was waiting to accompany *el señor comandante* to Mexico. Therefore, on May 15, when Don Juan Bautista proceeded on his way, he had with him the Yuma chief and his retinue of three other Indians.

The return was through Papaguería, Caborca, and Altar to San Miguel de Horcasitas.

After arriving at San Diego, the *comandante*, Rivera y Moncada, notified Moraga that there would be at least a year's delay before the Presidio of San Francisco could be established, following this immediately by orders to the lieutenant to proceed to the port of San Francisco with twenty soldiers, to establish the fort on the site selected by Lieutenant Colonel Anza; but, says Engelhardt, "know-

ing that this would keenly pain the Fr. Presidente, Rivera instructed Moraga to postpone the founding of the missions and to inform Fr. Serra to that effect."

On the same day, May 8, Rivera ordered Sergeant Pablo Grijalva to proceed to Monterey, taking with him the twelve soldiers from Sonora and their families, who were still at San Gabriel. Arriving at Monterey on the 28th, Grijalva delivered the despatches to Moraga. Moraga informed Serra of the dictum of the lieutenant governor in the matter of the missions, and stated that he would set out for the port of San Francisco about the middle of June, to carry out orders. Serra detailed Padres Palou and Cambón to accompany him.

On June 3, the *San Carlos*, under command of Captain Fernando Quirós, who had as *pilotos* José Cañizares and Cristóbal Revilla, arrived at the port of Monterey, under orders from the viceroy which brightened the outlook of the *padre presidente*: to convey to their destination everything of every description for the San Francisco establishments, including church properties and the belongings of the colonists.

On June 17, when Moraga led his expedition away from the *presidio*, the two friars from the *San Carlos*, Vicente de Santa María and José Nocedal, accompanied him as far as the Río de Monterey, returning from there to make ready to follow by sea. With Lieutenant Moraga were Sergeant Grijalva, two corporals, sixteen soldiers, and seven colonists, all with their families except the lieutenant, whose wife did not accompany him to Alta California. There were two servants, three neophytes, and, in charge of the pack mules and two hundred head of cattle, five *arrieros* and *vaqueros*—all Indians.

The journey was made slowly, because of the women and children; nevertheless, on June 27, at *La Laguna de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*, named by Don Juan Bautista de Anza in the spring of the same year, fifteen tents were

pitched. The next day, the lieutenant ordered an *enramada*—a brushwood shelter—built, to serve as a temporary chapel. The first mass was sung on the 29th, by Padre Palou.

Four days before arriving at their destination, they had come upon a herd of elks and many deer and antelopes. Three elks were killed for food, one, says Palou, with antlers, sixteen *palmos*—twelve feet—from tip to tip. Indians, everywhere, had been very friendly, eating everything given them but refusing to drink milk.

Having waited from day to day, in expectancy, for the arrival of the *San Carlos*—when a month had disappeared into time, once lost, forever gone—Moraga determined to wait no longer but to proceed with the building of the fort; and, also, without orders from any one, gave permission for permanent buildings to be erected at Dolores for the *padres*. Leaving with them two colonists, six soldiers for the guard, and the cattle allotted to the mission, the lieutenant, with the rest of the expedition, then proceeded up the peninsula to the *presidio* site, and began the construction of brushwood huts for temporary use. The first structure was a chapel, and in it, Padre Palou celebrated the first mass on the 28th of July.

The *San Carlos*, already delayed by having to await permission from Captain Rivera at San Diego to remove the cannon from the Presidio of Monterey to the proposed site of the Presidio of San Francisco, put to sea after the order had been received, but immediately ran into a gale that drove her as far south as the latitude of San Diego. Turning about at last, she sailed as far north as latitude 42°, where, turning again, she ran down the coast, dropping anchor on August 17 off Point Reyes; and, on the morning of the 18th, passed through the entrance, a little more than a year after she had nosed her way in, in the dusk of the evening of August 1, 1775, under command of Cap-

tain Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, the first vessel to enter the great inland sea.

Work was now begun on the permanent buildings for the *presidio*, following plans prepared by José Cañizares, consisting of a chapel, quarters for the officers, barracks for the soldiers, accommodations for the colonists, and a guard-house, built of timber palisades, thatched with *tules*, and all set within a square ninety-two *varas* on each side. This under way, Captain Quirós of the *San Carlos*, Padre Nocedal, one *piloto*, the ship's surgeon, and six soldiers betook themselves to Laguna de los Dolores, to help the friars with permanent buildings of similar construction, which Lieutenant Moraga, knowing the wishes of the viceroy but without authority from the *comandante* of Alta California, had given them permission to erect. The mission buildings were finished by the middle of September.

On September 17, the Presidio of San Francisco was dedicated. It was thought best, although much had already been dared, to wait for authority from the *comandante* for the formal dedication of Mission San Francisco de Asís, at Dolores; so, tentatively, October 4 was named for that ceremony.

All were present from both camps at the dedication of the *presidio*, when the great cross was raised and blessed, and mass sung by Padre Fray Francisco Palou, assisted by the three *padres*, Cambón, Nocedal, and Peña. Formal possession was taken in the name of the king; and the ceremonies were then concluded by the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, after which bells were rung, muskets were fired, and cannon roared.

The rest of the day was given up to feasting, games, and whatever amusements were possible.

Captain Quirós and Lieutenant Moraga now decided to coöperate in making additional surveys and explorations in the vicinity of the Río de San Francisco. Quirós, accom-

El Río de San Francisco—The River of San Francisco. Descending, he forded the first of these rivers (the San Joaquin) and set out across a great treeless, level plain, where no Indians were encountered, no game seen, and where no water was in evidence, while overhead the rays of the sun made themselves uncomfortably felt. Moraga turned and, following the route by which he had come, reached La Laguna de los Dolores on October 7. No authority to proceed with the founding of the mission having as yet been received, Moraga gave the necessary order; and on the 9th, with the usual ceremonies, Mission San Francisco de Asís at Dolores was founded.

Having decided to rebuild Mission San Diego de Alcalá and refound San Juan Capistrano, Fray Junípero Serra, on June 30, less than two weeks after the departure of the Moraga San Francisco expedition from Monterey, sailed on the *San Antonio* and arrived at San Diego on July 11. For the rebuilding he had in mind, he asked the assistance of the commander of the *San Antonio*, Don Diego Choquet de Isla, who responded like a gentleman ("*respondido como caballero*"), that not only would his sailors be detailed for the rebuilding but that he, himself, would do the work of an ordinary laborer.

Those who made up Serra's "construction corps," in one capacity or another, leaving the *presidio* for the site of the destroyed mission on August 22, 1776, were two friars, Captain Choquet, one *piloto*, a boatswain, twenty armed sailors, thirty or forty neophytes, with a corporal and five soldiers detailed by the *comandante* as a guard. Work was begun with a will, all lending a hand, carrying stones, laying foundations, preparing material, and making *adobes*. In fifteen days, seven thousand *adobes* were ready to be used.

On September 8, the *comandante*, *in propria persona*, arrived on the busy scene, announcing that because of news

of a proposed attack by the Indians, work must cease on the mission buildings.

A lengthy colloquy between Captain Rivera and Captain Choquet followed, in which Rivera was much irritated by Choquet, who questioned the reliability of the information received by the *comandante* and wished to continue the work. Rivera, and, perhaps, properly, was not to be argued into consenting that the work should proceed, and put an end to the discussion by ordering the mission guard to return to the *presidio*. Thereupon, work was suspended.

On September 28, there was still another turn in affairs—for the better, from Serra's point of view,—when despatches were received, followed by the arrival at the *presidio*, on the 29th, of Corporal Guillermo Carrillo with recruits from Guadalajara and a letter from Bucareli, saying that the principal business of the day was the reestablishment of the San Diego mission and the refounding of San Juan Capistrano; this, to Serra, but despatches came to Rivera as well.

Fray Junípero, upon occasion, did not hesitate to disturb the peace of another who attempted to thwart him in his work in Alta California, and upon the receipt of these "glad tidings of great joy" he set all the bells a-ringing, and the next morning sang a high mass!

Rivera changed his orders, releasing the Indian prisoners, and detailing to Mission San Diego twelve of the recruits who had arrived with Corporal Carrillo. A corporal and ten men were assigned to Mission San Juan Capistrano, and two to San Gabriel.

San Juan Capistrano now held the attention of the *padre presidente*. Padre Lasuén's cross, erected on October 30, 1775, was found still standing. The bells that had been buried were disinterred, and mass was celebrated on All Saints' Day, November 1, 1776. To secure neophytes for the work, and to have supplies and cattle sent to the mission, Serra went in person to San Gabriel. Then, when

all had been arranged satisfactorily, the *padre presidente* took his leave and began the journey to his own mission, San Carlos at Carmelo, visiting all the missions on the way, and arriving at Monterey on January 1, 1777.

On October 28, 1774, before the second Anza expedition, Don Felipe de Neve, a major in a cavalry regiment at Querétaro, had been appointed Governor of the Californias to supersede Governor Felipe de Barri, but did not arrive at Loreto until March 4, 1775.

Soon after the appointment of Neve, although this was not known in Alta California, the government had decided to transfer the capital, but it had not been done. When, in 1776, things were not going well there, Bucareli, taking advantage of the neglected royal decree, named Monterey as the capital of the Californias. The residence of the governor would, of course, be at that place, while that of the lieutenant governor would be at Loreto.

The removal of Don Pedro Fages, at the urgent suggestion of Serra, and the appointment of Don Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Moncada to supersede him had not resulted happily (as had been predicted by Don José de Gálvez, in Spain, when informed of the matter by Arriaga), for missions and missionaries had been cast "out of the frying pan into the fire."

The Guardian of the College of San Fernando informed Fray Junípero Serra of the transfer in a letter in answer to his, sent on its way to Mexico in charge of Don Juan Bautista de Anza. He "also expressed his regret that the Fathers had found it necessary to have recourse to excommunication, and added that he with the discretos of the College had decided to take no further steps in view of Rivera's transfer to the peninsula" (Engelhardt).

Neither had things gone very smoothly in Baja California between Governor Neve and the Dominicans, and

thus, at one stroke, two complications might be adjusted. Says Bancroft: "Had Rivera's peculiar conduct been known in Spain it is not likely that he would have been retained in office; but the viceroy hoped that in a new field he might succeed better."

Lieutenant Governor Rivera y Moncada, with an escort of twelve soldiers, began the march northward from San Diego on the 11th or 12th of October, leaving there before the reopening of the mission.

While still at the Presidio of San Diego, before his departure for the north, Rivera received official information of the removal of the capital of the Californias from Loreto to Monterey, and of his own transfer to Baja California. At San Luis Obispo, he was informed of the founding of the mission at Dolores. If he felt any dissatisfaction at Moraga's assumption of authority, he did not so express himself. At Monterey, he announced that he was ready to establish Mission Santa Clara; and, taking Padre Tomás de la Peña with him, arrived at San Francisco on the 26th of November. On the 27th, he visited the new mission and approved of all that had been done! On the 29th, he set out to follow up the recent explorations made by Moraga, who accompanied him, but was obliged to turn back. The great dry plain was now very wet, everything in that region being in flood. There was now no chance of success, and every chance of their return being cut off should they venture too far. The rainy season was upon them. Returning as they had come, they were met by a courier with the news that all the buildings at San Luis Obispo had been burned by the Indians. The *comandante* hastened to the scene of the uprising, where he captured the ring-leaders and sent them to Monterey, whither he followed. From there, he instructed Moraga to proceed with the founding of Mission Santa Clara.

On January 5, 1777, the lieutenant gathered together the contingent of men, women, and children assigned to

the new mission, and the march thence was begun. Stopping for the night at Mission Dolores, where Padre de la Peña was added to the party, the march was taken up again the next morning.

Soldiers were sent on to Monterey to escort the other friar for Santa Clara from that place to the scene of his labors, and to bring up the mission goods.

On the 7th, camp was made on the bank of the Río de Guadalupe. A site for the mission was sought, and one, seemingly very desirable, was found about three leagues inland from the bay shore, on the bank of a creek from which water could be conducted for irrigation, and with many other recommendations. At this place, the cross was raised and a temporary chapel constructed. On January 12, the first mass was celebrated.

When Padre Murguía and the mission paraphernalia arrived on the 21st, Moraga departed for the Presidio of San Francisco.

XXII

The transfer of the capital of the Californias from Loreto to Monterey was but part of a logical sequence of events, Alta California having become the more important. The royal order finally bringing this about, directing that the change be made immediately, and, perhaps, preceded by one the previous year, is dated April 19, 1776.

A suggestion that the Governor of the Californias should reside at Monterey, made the year before, was repeated in the spring of 1775 by Gálvez, in a letter to Bucareli in regard to other matters, and, about the same time of the next year, after he became *ministro general de las Indias*, was followed by more definite instructions.

The viceroy forwarded the order under date of July 20, 1776, and, a few days later, reported to Gálvez that the order had been transmitted. His instructions to Governor Neve as to Alta California, dated December 25 of the same year, reiterated former orders, changed others, and introduced new ones.

Early in the next year, February 3, 1777, Governor Don Felipe de Neve arrived at Monterey and took up his residence there.

He had been officially instructed as to his attitude toward the missionaries and warned to go carefully in mission affairs. This should not have been very necessary after his own experience in Baja California where he was continually at outs with the Dominicans, and the unhappy state of affairs there under Governor Felipe de Barri, with which, as well as with the notorious and constant friction between

his predecessors and the Franciscans in Alta California, he must have been conversant. He should have been an adept and well able to steer clear of difficulties. But, at least, he knew the value of a good beginning, for, after a review of the troops, he made it his first duty to enter upon his relations with the *padre presidente* in all friendliness. After a consultation with Fray Junípero Serra, his first report to the viceroy from Alta California, dated February 25, was despatched.

Early in March, probably the 3d, Captain Rivera y Moncada set out from Monterey on his way to the Peninsula, to continue there as lieutenant governor, with his official residence at Loreto. He was escorted southward by the soldiers who had acted as escort to Governor Neve from Loreto to Monterey.

Felipe de Neve, although he was Governor of the Californias, was vested with little more authority in Alta California than had been Rivera, who, as lieutenant governor, had reported to the viceroy direct. But they were men of such different caliber that much the same power was wielded to very different purpose. Rivera, in Baja California, was relegated to a more subordinate position than he had previously occupied.

Because of the tremendous expense incurred in the shipment of grain to the Californias, the necessity had been repeatedly urged of putting that province upon a grain-producing basis, and, while still at Loreto, in June, 1776, before he knew of his transfer, Neve brought before the viceroy the matter of the experimental sowing of grain by the government. The viceroy approved the idea but answered, in August, that in view of Neve's departure from the Peninsula in the near future, the experiment might be undertaken to better advantage in the fertile lands farther north, or, as suggested by Anza, along the Río Colorado.

During the journey and tour of inspection combined, from the old capital to the new, and from that to San Francisco and back to Monterey, Neve noted two spots admirably well adapted to this purpose, one in the south on the Río Porciúncula, and the other in the north on the Río de Guadalupe.

The first vessel to sail direct from San Blas to the port of San Francisco, one of the transports for 1777, the frigate *Santiago*—captain, Ignacio Arteaga; pilot, Francisco Castro; chaplain, Fray José Nosedal;—cast anchor there on May 12, sailing again on the 27th and arriving at Monterey on the next day.

By the *Santiago*, which sailed from Monterey on June 8, Governor Neve forwarded to the viceroy a long report on the Indians of the Santa Bárbara Channel and his personal conclusions as to the conversion and control of a large native population. Because of the great distances between the *presidios* and missions already established and the ease with which communication might be cut off between them by the savages, he urged the founding in that locality of a *presidio* and three missions: one at Asunción, at the southern tip of the channel coast—the long delayed Mission San Buenaventura; another at the northern extremity, near Point Concepción—La Purísima; and the *presidio* and the third mission—Santa Bárbara—between the other two, near Mescaltitlan. This was dated June 3, 1777. The next day, having been in official residence at Monterey only five months, but five very busy months, investigating, systematizing, preparing statements to the viceroy, arranging to put everything within his jurisdiction in proper running order,—right in the middle of all these beginnings, this model of efficiency became for the moment strangely inconsistent, or the victim of an acute attack of nostalgia, and wrote another letter, dated the 4th, asking permission to resign because of ill health after seven years'

service in Zacatecas and because he wished to return to Spain to his family, whom he had not seen since 1764—thirteen years! This was replied to by the viceroy, who wrote, under date of January 14 of the next year, 1778, that his request for permission to retire had been forwarded to the king and, no doubt, would be entertained with favor. In May, Neve sent in his formal resignation, and in August, thanked the viceroy for a favorable report thereon; but, two months later, asked Bucareli to hold back his memorials on the subject, and on the same day, Don Felipe wrote thanking the king for a promotion to a colonelcy in the regular army of Spain. Could that have had anything to do with his change of heart?

Twenty-two communications were despatched by the Governor of the Californias to the Viceroy of New Spain during the first half of the year 1777. How many the last half is not known because many have been lost. By this time (the fall of 1777), Neve had grasped the entire situation, asking for instructions and constantly making practical suggestions.

The urge of initiative was strong within him, and, with very little ado, *el señor gobernador* ordered Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga to get together such settlers as had arrived with the Anza expedition and such soldier-colonists as might be spared from the *presidios* of Monterey and San Francisco, and to proceed with them to the Río de Guadalupe, there to establish a *pueblo* according to instructions furnished him. This step was taken by Neve without specific orders, but it was distinctly led up to.

Nine soldiers and five settlers, with their families, sixty-six persons of all ages, "all lying idle at San Francisco," according to Palou, set out from there on November 7. Arriving at their destination, a site for the *pueblo* was chosen on the eastern bank of the river, about three quarters of a league from Mission Santa Clara. Huts were built,

the river dammed, and each colonist was apportioned a house lot—*solar*—and land enough to sow a *fanega*—about a bushel and a half—of grain. As the first *pueblo* founded by the Spaniards in Alta California, it was a small but important beginning. The name of the new *pueblo* was San José de Guadalupe and the date of the founding, November 29, 1777.

In June, 1777, Indians of the *rancherías* in the vicinity of San Juan Capistrano began to give trouble and to threaten the neophytes at the mission. Corporal Carrillo was sent out with a squad to bring them to reason, and ended by killing three and wounding several. Lieutenant Ortega then despatched Sergeant Aguiar to investigate. Again, the irregular conduct of the soldiers with the Indian women was to blame. A highly discreditable state of affairs was disclosed, and an Indian chief, who had been acting as panderer of native women to the mission guard, was given fifteen lashes and an admonition by the *padre*, while two of the soldiers with whom he had been in league were bundled off to San Diego.

At San Gabriel, natives in hostile mood came to the mission, armed and ready to avenge some outrage. Then was a scene staged between the irate savages and the *padres*, which makes a pleasanter story than the preceding; it is, at least, "a twice-told tale," and the subject of a poem. As it comes to us, these Indians were subdued suddenly "as by a miracle, when the friars held up a shining image of our lady, kneeling, weeping, and embracing the missionaries" (Bancroft).

Disturbances continued from time to time and in February of the next year, 1778, Corporal Carrillo was again needed at San Juan Capistrano, where Indians from several *rancherías* were assembled and threaten-

ing. This time, the cause was no less than an elopement of an Indian woman and a Baja Californian who was, without doubt, a neophyte, else the friars would not have been thought responsible. The natives were being incited to attack by the deserted husband, ostensibly to avenge the killing of their tribesman by Carrillo the year before.

In March, more trouble was brewing. A San Juan Indian had been killed by the hostiles, and Indians at Pamó were reported as busily engaged in arrow making. Other *rancherías* as far away as across the *sierra* were in sympathy with a proposed attack.

Ortega despatched Corporal Carrillo to put an end to the affair in its incipency. At Pamó, he surprised the plotters and killed two of them. Some who took refuge in a hut and refused to come out were burned. The rest surrendered. Thirty or forty lashes each were given to those who seemed to merit them, but the four chieftains, Aaaran, Aalcuiran, Aachil, and Taguagui, were bound and taken to San Diego. There, on April 6, they were tried and convicted of plotting "to kill Christians in spite of the mercy shown them in the king's name for past offences and condemned to death by Ortega, though that officer had no right to inflict the death penalty, even on an Indian, without the governor's approval."

"The sentence was: 'Deeming it useful to the service of God, the king, and the public weal, I sentence them to a violent death by two musket-shots on the 11th at 9 A. M., the troops to be present at the execution under arms, also all the Christian *rancherías* subject to the San Diego mission, that they may be warned to act righteously.' Fathers Lasuen and Figuer were summoned to prepare the condemned for their end. 'You will coöperate,' writes Ortega to the padres, 'for the good of their souls in the understanding that if they do not accept the salutary waters of holy

baptism they die on Saturday morning; and if they do—they die all the same!

“This was the first public execution in California” (*ibid.*).

Among the orders received from the viceroy was one on the subject of the English navigator, Captain James Cook, now on his third voyage around the world.

Cook was in command of an expedition consisting of two vessels: the *Resolution*, his own, and the *Discovery*, under command of Captain Charles Clerke. On this voyage, the orders under which he sailed were somewhat menacing to Spain. He was to ascertain definitely, and from the Pacific side, whether the Northwest Passage—the Strait of Anián, under its English name—did in reality exist; also, and under secret orders, he was to explore the coast, gain such information as he could, and such lands as had not been discovered by other Europeans were to be taken possession of in the name of His Majesty, King George III.

Neve was ordered to be on the lookout for these two vessels, and under no circumstances to allow them to enter the ports.

In the year 1778, Captain Cook rediscovered the Hawaiian Islands (discovered by Juan Gaetano, a Spaniard, in 1542), and passing on up, touched the North American coast at about 40°. Some furs, purchased from the natives, were afterward sold in China for such good prices that a very long story has to be told of all that resulted therefrom. The expedition entered Bering Strait and proceeded until turned back by ice. Returning for the winter to the Islands, Captain Cook was murdered by the natives, in February, 1779, in revenge for a flogging given one of them for stealing. Captain Clerke then took command and again the expedition attempted to penetrate the mysteries of the north through Bering Strait. Again

turned back by ice, the expedition, without settling the question of the northwest passage and without appearing at all off any of the ports of Alta California, continued on around the world to England. Nevertheless, Captain James Cook had greatly increased the danger of foreign encroachment, not only by the sale of the furs, but, also, by discovering how the death toll might be cut, barring accidents, from forty to seventy-five per cent on every long voyage to almost nothing. On his first voyage, 1768-71, there was only one death from sickness out of four deaths all told.

Following the advent of Governor Neve, improvements were in order. The stockade at Monterey was very inadequate as a defense, and was replaced by a stone wall five hundred and thirty-seven yards in circumference, twelve feet high, and four feet thick, entirely finished by the 3d of July, 1778, at which time, barracks one hundred and thirty-six by eighteen feet were almost ready for occupancy.

It had been proposed by Lieutenant Governor Rivera y Moncada to remove the Presidio of Monterey to the Salinas River, perhaps to be farther away from Mission San Carlos at Carmelo, on the ground that there was a lack both of water and of good soil at Monterey. The viceroy had favored this, but it had met with no favor in Spain, and the royal order transmitted by Bucareli was to the effect that "the presidio must be maintained where it was at any cost, for the protection of the port" (Bancroft).

Under the new governor, Alta California was undergoing a thorough overhauling, the missions along with everything else; or, it might be said, especially the missions.

Old laws in new dresses were being brought out and given a chance to see what they could do in new environment.

The *padres* did not know what to expect next. Some of

the orders received at the missions were very disturbing, but none ever more so than that received in December, 1778, in reference to *alcaldes* and *regidores*. By the Law of the Indies, Indians were required to dwell in *pueblos*, choosing for themselves *alcaldes*—mayors and justices of the peace combined—and *regidores*—councilmen; but it appears that in that law there was nothing at all about missions. It had in view the reduction of Indians to civil life, but scarcely the type found in the Californias. There are few lower specimens of humanity than were these Indians.

At San Carlos and San Diego, the missionaries were told to put the neophytes through their paces in the matter of electing two *alcaldes* and two *regidores* from among themselves. At San Antonio, San Luis Obispo, and San Gabriel, the population was to be considered and the number of those officials was to be in proportion. They were to be taken entirely from under the control of the *padres*. At the missions, these "officials" could not be put in the stocks nor could the lash be applied, for, automatically, upon election, *alcaldes* and *regidores* were to be exempt from punishment short of the *presidios*—in some cases forty leagues distant. With the full knowledge that no punishment could be inflicted, their baton and uniform would mean to them simply badges of emancipation from all restraint—a license to do as they pleased. Looked at in its application to the missions of Alta California, it was an iniquitous law. But the order had been issued, and there it was!

The *padres* were horrified, and one cannot but be in sympathy with them. It was unthinkable! It has been so often demonstrated how unwise and, sometimes, how dangerous it is to endow the unfit with sudden power.

Some of the missionaries were so nonplused at the extraordinary situation looming up—Indian officials to control the neophytes at the missions, and they, themselves, not under control of the missionaries—that they informed the

padre presidente they would retire from the field at the expiration of their terms. As their terms were now expiring, Serra was in a very unhappy position; and, in addition to the order itself, the governor was none too kind, personally, in the matter. As an instance: In a letter to Padre Lasuén, dated March 29, 1779, the *padre presidente* wrote: "I have pleaded . . . for the suspension of the elections. Yesterday, Palm Sunday, which I celebrated at the presidio, we exchanged a few words before holy Mass, when the governor said to me something so far from the truth that I changed my attitude and grew indignant. I told him that no one had ever said such a thing to me, because no one could have said it to me. He replied with a faint smile that he too was a logician, thus giving me to understand that what he said to me was inferred, though it was not true in itself. To this I retorted that it was very bad logic, since not by a great stretch of imagination did it allow such an inference. With some irony he said that I should not be aggrieved, because it would remain between us two. I told him that this was too much for my feelings, even though it remained with only one. . . . Such was my preparation for the holy Mass . . .'" (Engelhardt).

Serra does not give even the substance of Neve's offensive remark—or innuendo—but it must have been very offensive indeed.

He continues: "I had great difficulty trying to compose myself before the altar. . . . The dispute was about *alcaldes*. The rest of the day I was in distress unable to remove the impression, and I was making thousands of plans as to what was expedient to do. I set to work writing a letter to the said Señor, and I intended to include the one from Your Reverence as well as the one from Fr. Juan Figuer, in which you ask me for permission to retire in case the elections were held In every clause which I wrote something inexpedient would appear; so I stopped, thought and thought again. After struggling with that

wretched letter till about midnight, . . . I took a new sheet of paper and went to work writing a letter to Fr. Sanchez . . . finished, closed, addressed it . . . Then I returned to the struggle, but with the same result . . . ' ' (*ibid.*).

The end of it was, the letter was not written.

The night was far advanced and, realizing that he must have some sleep, the agitated *padre* retired—but no sleep came.

Overwrought, wide awake, unable to dissociate himself from pursuing thoughts of the unnecessary, petty annoyances being forced upon him daily, in sheer desperation, he says, he exclaimed: " 'What is it, Lord! ' " and that something within him answered with perfect distinctness, in the words of St. Matthew X, 16, " 'Be ye, therefore, wise as serpents and harmless as doves' "; but, of course, to Fray Junípero, the words were: " 'Prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbæ.' " With a feeling of relief, he answered, " 'Yes, Lord, yes, Lord, so it shall be with Thy grace.' "

And thus peace came to his troubled soul; and he fell asleep.

Rising, refreshed and feeling that direct spiritual guidance had been vouchsafed him, he acted accordingly.

But, withal, the *padre presidente* was vastly practical, as is shown in the very next sentence in this letter to Padre Lasuén, in which he says: " 'Well, what I have thought out is that what the caballero demands should be executed, but in such a way that it cannot cause the least commotion among the natives Let Francisco [one of the Indians who was by way of being some sort of a policeman] with the same baton and coat which he has be the first *alcalde*. It is nothing more than a change in the name. Let the chief of one of the *rancherías* . . . be the other . . . ' " (*ibid.*, where quoted).

Therefore, without more ado, *alcaldes* and *regidores*

were installed at all the missions. Much diplomacy was used, but the resulting evils were even worse than had been feared. All sorts of things happened, but, according to program, the elections were held.

Says Engelhardt: "The moment these Indians saw themselves clothed with a little authority and exempt from . . . punishment . . . they availed themselves of their privileges to gratify their inclinations"

Before the year had elapsed, there was trouble at every mission. To expect these Indians not to run amuck was expecting the impossible to occur.

Under the Echeveste *reglamento*, certain double rations, amounting to three *reales*, about thirty-seven and a half cents a day for each double ration, were allowed the missions for five years, until their crops were assured, supernumeraries, also, receiving this double ration but no stipend. San Francisco and Santa Clara were founded while this *reglamento* was in effect, and their five years had not yet expired when they were notified that these rations would cease because of the scarcity of provisions. This order was upheld.

Guards were not allowed to care for the few horses kept at the missions, along with their own. But one order issued was one too many: that no friar should be changed or retired "to the College," even with permission from the prelates, "without a license from the governor." And captains of transports were forbidden to take on board any friar unless he had such license. In this, the Guardian of San Fernando appealed to the new viceroy, Martín de Mayorga, for help, and got it, for through the proper channel the message went forth that: "The missionaries may use their permit to retire whenever it is expedient, without the license of said governor ['sin licencia de aquel gobernador'], save a polite notification' " (*ibid.*).

This was not a battle royal—very far from it; nor does

it seem to have been surrounded with the dignity one expects from a great man!

That greatest of all viceroys of New Spain, Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, wrote, on March 18, 1772, to Don Pedro Fages in Alta California: "I charge Your Honor very strictly to preserve harmony with the Missionary Fathers, and to let them freely perform their apostolic work Likewise I charge Your Honor that you do all that you easily can in order to keep the missionaries in the tranquillity which they desire" It had been well had Governor Don Felipe de Neve been given similar instructions and had he committed them to memory, for there was little "tranquillity" for the friars, and, of harmony between Church and State, there was none during his incumbency.

Don Felipe de Neve was saturated with prejudices!

In January, 1777, a new government for Alta California went into effect.

After the death of Don Julián de Arriaga in 1776, and the succession of Don José de Gálvez as *ministro de las Indias*, a royal decree was issued, embodying a plan for the government of the Provincias Internas: Sonora, Sinaloa, Nueva Vizcaya (Chihuahua), New Mexico, the Californias, Coahuila, and Texas, joining them under a *comandancia general*—a general (military) command—with the capital at Arispe, Sonora.

While independent, the *comandancia* was not to be cut off entirely from the viceroyalty: reports were to be made to the viceroy and his assistance might be asked. As to Alta California, the matter of supply boats from San Blas was left to the viceroy; but in all else, control was vested in the *comandante general*, to whom reports were to be made.

This plan had been formulated by the *visitador*, Don José de Gálvez, in 1768, because of the enormous distances from the capital, in some cases six hundred leagues; the

inadequate means of communication, and the many dissimilar problems and interests of these outlying provinces—a good plan apparently, but entrusted, unfortunately, to the wrong person.

It is usually incomprehensible to one of large vision that a plan, formulated to the veriest details, one of dozens originated by him, and sent forth to do its work, cannot be carried through by almost any one of ordinary intelligence. This is a common mistake and one made by Gálvez in his appointee to the office of *comandante general*: Don Teodoro de Croix—a nephew of the former viceroy, the Marqués Carlos Francisco de Croix—an industrious, conscientious man, doing well all to which he was accustomed but with no head for new things or complications.

The *comandancia* had come into being officially only a little over a month prior to the arrival of the Governor of the Californias at the new capital. But, at that time, in that far-away land, it was not yet known that it had come into being at all.

Under date of March 8, 1777, Croix informed Neve that the governor and officials in Alta California were, in the future, to report to him. Before that order had arrived at Monterey, many letters and reports of importance, suggestions and requests for instructions, requiring immediate attention, had been despatched by the governor to the viceroy. He had advised three more missions and a *presidio* on the Santa Bárbara Channel, a stronger military force at San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego; and had also proposed the founding of civilian settlements—*pueblos*. He should need more soldiers, fully equipped and with families; also sixty families, including artisans of various kinds. He should need agricultural and other implements; and, also, certain domestic animals should be sent.

At the end of July, the whole correspondence, with letters from Serra and Rivera, was sent by Bucareli to Croix, but the file was returned to Bucareli by Croix, who requested

the viceroy to take charge for him of all matters therein requiring immediate attention, as he was preparing to leave Mexico City.

Under the *comandancia*, it was now necessary to bring the Californias under the same system as the other *provincias internas* so that the same royal orders would be applicable to all.

The hurriedly prepared Echeveste *reglamento* of 1773 did not long meet the needs of Alta California, and, in some respects, it was unsatisfactory from the first, having been adopted only as a temporary *modus operandi*, and was now worn out as a whole. And, in writing to Neve, under date of August 15, 1777, that, by a royal order of March 21, 1775, the Echeveste *reglamento* was to be remodeled, Croix said, " 'Lacking knowledge on the subject, I need that you report to me at length and in detail what are the faults that impair the usefulness of the old regulation, and what you deem necessary for its reform, so that I may be enabled to decide when consulted about the country' "; also, in substance, that his duties in other provinces would prevent his giving his attention to California affairs at that time, and that he had therefore turned over the whole matter of Neve's request, et cetera, to the viceroy. (Drawn, and where quoted, from Bancroft.)

This communication was received by Governor Neve in June of the following year, 1778.

Bucareli's reply to Croix, dated August 27, 1777, was all that kindness and courtesy required, but the correspondence sent by Croix to Bucareli to be attended to by him was sent back, the viceroy writing that neither he nor Croix was empowered to change a royal order, and that, in these matters, he, as viceroy, no longer had jurisdiction; that they were of the very greatest importance and needed immediate attention; that, had he them in hand, he should do thus

and so; and that among missions to be established should be those along the Gila and Colorado rivers—thus endeavoring to give Croix all necessary information, and to counsel and guide him, without seeming to dictate.

In a letter dated April 15, 1778, Governor Neve had reported the founding of the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe on November 29, 1777; to which General Croix replied, on the 3d of the following September, approving. In the same month, he wrote two letters to Don José de Gálvez, in one reporting the contents of the above letter, of which Gálvez also approved later; in the other, he complained bitterly that Bucareli had not taken these California matters off his hands. He said that the deeper he went into them, the more "confused" he became; that, while he had approved of Neve's proposals, he would leave those matters in *statu quo* until after his arrival at Arispe, Sonora; that he had, however, asked Neve to look into the matter of a new *reglamento*, and, also, to send Rivera y Moncada to meet him at Arispe. To this, Gálvez replied, advising him to take careful note of Rivera's report to him.

In a long report to Croix, dated December 28, 1778, Felipe de Neve set forth the provisions of the existing *reglamento*, and wherein his own recommendations differed. This report passed, en route, a letter from Comandante General Croix, dated the 30th of the previous September, asking him to draw up the *reglamento*. To this Neve replied, on March 30, 1779, saying he would do so.

The *comandante general* did not arrive at the capital in Sonora until the fall, November, of that year. Meanwhile, many things were neglected. He had received very particular instructions as to Alta California, and was told to visit that province at the first possible opportunity; but the opportunity evidently never presented itself, for he never went, nor did he go even as far on the way as the Gila and Colorado, which he was also instructed to visit.

By June 1 of the same year, 1779, the Neve *reglamento*

was finished. In his remitting letter to General Croix, Governor Neve stated that he was putting the *reglamento* into effect at once, provisionally, subject to such changes as he, Croix, might deem expedient. Under date of September 21 of the next year, 1780, Croix wrote Neve from Arispe that the *reglamento* was on its way to the king, and ordered that it was to go into effect on January 1, 1781, provisionally, pending the king's approval. As will have been noted, the *reglamento* was already in effect—"provisionally."

The celebrated *reglamento* of Don Felipe de Neve, forwarded to Don Teodoro de Croix at Arispe from the Royal Presidio of San Carlos of Monterey, practically reproduced the recommendations included in his report of December 28, 1778. So far as is known, it was accepted in its entirety; and in the royal orders approving it, October 24, 1781, it was fully credited to Neve.

XXIII

There being no bishop, the rite of confirmation had not been administered to those who had been baptized by the Franciscans in Alta California. Thus, the neophytes had not been drawn fully into the bosom of the Church. A possible remedy for this state of affairs appeared in a copy of a papal bull issued by Benedict XIV, which had been discovered by Fray Junípero Serra in Baja California. By it, one of the Jesuit missionaries there was, under similar existing conditions, empowered to administer the rite. That any bishop might visit Alta California, farther away and much more difficult to reach, was only a very remote possibility. Therefore, Serra forwarded the treasure trove to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, asking that, if possible, the same privilege be obtained from the pope for him or for one of the other *padres*.

This petition was referred to Fray José García, the *comisario prefecto*—commissary prefect—who forwarded it through the proper channels. On July 10, 1774, the *facultad de confirmar*—the faculty or right to confirm—was granted him, with authority to subdelegate the power for a period of ten years from the date of the concession, to one missionary from each of the four missionary colleges of New Spain: Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Guadalupe de Zacatecas, San Fernando de Mejico, and Guatemala.

The papal brief had then to receive the sanction of the king and the Supreme Council of the Indies. The *pasé*—the royal permit in matters ecclesiastical—being duly affixed, the document was sent on its way to Mexico, where it came before the *Audiencia* and was approved on September 18, 1776, and on the 19th by Viceroy Bucareli.

But, in the meantime, Fray García had died.

Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita (author of the *Crónica Seráfica*) became *comisario prefecto*, and on October 17 of the next year, 1777, subdelegated the *facultad de confirmar* to Padre Presidente Fray Junípero Serra of Alta California, as the one missionary from San Fernando.

"The document appointing him together with copies of the Papal Brief were brought to San Francisco by the *Santiago* [captain, Juan Manuel de Ayala; two pilots, Francisco Castro and Juan Bautista de Aguirre; chaplain, José Nosedal] on June 17th, 1778, and thence transmitted to Fr. Serra at San Carlos" (Engelhardt).

Of the period of ten years from the date of concession, four had elapsed, leaving but six in which Fray Junípero was authorized to administer the rite of confirmation. He, therefore, resolved to make use of his powers without delay. "In the *Libro de las Confirmaciones*, or Record of Confirmations, Fr. Serra takes particular pains to record that every formality was scrupulously observed and 'executed in the church of this Mission of San Carlos de Monterey on the day of the Apostles Saints Peter and Paul, June 29th, 1778" (*ibid.*). On that one day, he confirmed ninety-one small children. "Those over nine years were regarded as adults" (*ibid.*, note).

On August 24, the *padre presidente* sailed on board the *Santiago* for San Diego. He tells us about it in a note in his *Libro de las Confirmaciones*, following a list of one hundred and fifty names of those confirmed up to August 23: "The said frigate (*Santiago*) in those days being ready to set out from the Port of Monterey, and the captain notifying me that he intended to make the Port of San Diego on this same coast for a short stop, I . . . thought and determined to suspend confirming at this mission, and to embark on said vessel in order to go to San Diego Mission, and thence afterwards by land to travel to the others

back to this one, bestowing everywhere the blessing of the administration of this holy Sacrament upon the faithful who had not received it. On the following day, the 24th of the present month of August, . . . I embarked for the love of God. The voyage for the lack of wind was a long one; but without other mishap, thanks be to God, the ship anchored in said Port of San Diego on the 15th of the following September, and on the next day I disembarked and went to the mission. Again thanks be to God!" (*ibid.*).

At San Diego, upward of six hundred persons were confirmed. On his way back to Monterey, he confirmed: at San Juan Capistrano, one hundred and forty-seven; at San Gabriel, three hundred and sixty-two; at San Luis Obispo, two hundred and sixty-five; and at San Antonio, three hundred and thirty-two.

At the end of December, he was again at Mission San Carlos, with eighteen hundred and ninety-seven names of those confirmed in his *Libro*. During the summer of 1779, one hundred and ten were added at San Carlos. "Two thousand four hundred and thirty-two persons in all received the rite in 1778-9, about one hundred of the number being *gente de razon*" (Bancroft).

So far, all is clear; but from that on, one faces an impasse of whys and wherefores, and is finally routed through sheer bewilderment.

Just when the inevitable happened does not appear, but, at all events, trouble—and serious trouble—arose between the governor and the *padre presidente*.

Reducing the whole matter to the simplest terms, Neve requested Serra to submit to him his documentary authority to administer confirmation. According to Bancroft, Serra refused. According to Engelhardt, "Fr. Serra explained that the original Brief of the Pope was in the archives of the Most Rev. Comisario Prefecto, and that the only doc-

ument needed for himself [Serra] was the paper, signed, sealed and countersigned by the secretary, by which the Fr. Comisario designated and appointed him to exercise the faculty as directed by the Pope."

Of course, it was clearly and entirely within the right of Governor Neve to demand that the *patente* be submitted to him for inspection, as a mere matter of official routine, as he was inspecting everything in Alta California. What possible personal difference could it have made to him whether the *padre presidente* did or did not administer confirmation? But, officially, that was a different matter, and, because of the complexity of the Spanish union of Church and State, it might have been obligatory—to an official who was, at the same time, Felipe de Neve! The governor seems to have been a stickler in these things.

We sometimes read that Neve ordered Serra to discontinue administering confirmation, but that, despite the governor's orders, the *padre presidente* continued. Mayhap he did not so order, but merely exhorted, admonished, warned, or cautioned him not to continue until instructions should come from the *comandante general* (broadly, from the *comandancia*): "*le exhortaba no pasase á confirmar hasta que viniese respuesta de la comandancia*" (Engelhardt, note, from Palou) may be so construed. At all events, Governor Neve made no effort to enforce the order; and, as will be seen, Serra did, as a matter of fact, administer the rite during the interdicted period, but only to a limited extent.

On October 30, Serra forwarded such documents as he had to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando. He also "petitioned De Croix for permission to continue administering Confirmation. All these letters were sent by the *Princesa* which sailed from San Francisco Bay on October 30th, 1779" (*ibid.*). On December 17, Fray Raphael Verger presented all the papers to the viceroy, asking for official duplicates.

As the Californias were under the *comandancia*, Neve referred the matter to Croix, his contention being that the *pasé* of the *comandante general* had not been affixed. Croix consulted his legal adviser—*asesor*—Don Pedro Galindo Navarro. The king being patron—*patrono*—of the Church in his dominions, the viceroy, as his representative, was vice patron; and, taking the position that Croix was equally so, the *asesor*, on April 17, 1780, replied that "the governor could proceed to collect the said documents" (*ibid.*).

In accordance with this, on the 20th, Croix sent "an order to Neve to take possession of the original patent and instructions which . . . must still be in possession of the latter [Serra]; and, furthermore, under no pretext whatever to permit the president to go on administering the sacrament till new orders should be given. The papers were to be sent at once to Croix, who would communicate with the viceroy . . . and would settle the matter as soon as possible" (Bancroft).

Neve's answer to this, although it is dated March 26 of the following year, 1781, may as well be given here. He writes in part, "'Fr. Junípero Serra says he sent his patente, etc., to the Fr. Guardian. I do not proceed to take possession and search the papers, because, it not being certain that he sent them away, he will with his unspeakable artifice and shrewdness have hid them At a more opportune time certain measures may be taken . . . in order to bring this Fr. Presidente to a proper acknowledgment of the authority which he eludes while he pretends to obey'" (Engelhardt). (Bancroft, note, in substance.) That Neve did not relish the idea of being the "cat's paw" to "take the chestnuts out of the fire" (if there were any to take) is evident; and, also, his reply shows his bitter feeling toward the *fray presidente*.

On April 20, 1780, the same date as Croix's letter to Neve to which the above is the answer, Croix wrote also

to Serra, sending the written opinion of the *asesor*, "with the order that the Fr. Presidente should give this resolution his punctual obedience by delivering the original documents to the governor" (*ibid.*); Bancroft says: "'charging and entreating' him to obey the order punctually by giving up the papers." On July 20, Serra replied that he had already transmitted the papers to his college, so that they might be put into the form demanded by the governor.

On October 6, the original *patente* and certified copies of all documents arrived and, also, a letter from Guardian Verger, dated February 15, 1780, saying that duplicates of everything had been forwarded to Comandante General Croix.

Now, the "whys and wherefores" become very insistent, indeed. At that time, Governor Neve, for whom the documents were intended, was in Baja California. Without waiting for his return, Serra bundled them up and sent them back by the same vessel that had brought them, to be forwarded to General Croix, to whom, Verger had stated in his letter to Serra arriving by the same boat as these papers, duplicates had already been sent!

Upon Neve's return came the, no doubt, expected demand. To Serra, Neve wrote: "'As I have soon to send despatches to the comandante-general, and the transmission is still pending of the Original Patente . . . and also of the Practical Instruction which accompanies it, . . . which documents Your Reverence has postponed to deliver to me in order that you might add others . . . I ask you to remit one and all. . . . The ship has arrived, I therefore supplicate Your Reverence to be pleased to remit said papers in order that I may pass them on to His Honor and thus comply with his instructions'" (Engelhardt). Bancroft says: "Serra did not deign to say whether he had the papers or not, but coolly replied on the same date by saying in substance: 'The whole matter has been settled by higher authorities; the papers proved to be all right; I

have written to General Croix, and he will doubtless be satisfied with what I have said. You and I have only to wait for orders.' ” Ever reaching out toward the temporalities, Serra was impatient at any suggestion as to the spiritualities.

Serra's letter, replying to Croix's to him of the same date as Croix's letter to Neve, April 20, 1780, was, in turn, replied to by Croix, disregarding absolutely Serra's assertion that the documents demanded were not in his possession, in part, as follows: “ ‘Notwithstanding all that Your Reverence states in the letter of June [sic] 20th last, I repeat to Your Reverence that you immediately comply with what I told you by way of request and command in the order of April 20th previous: that Your Reverence should surrender the Patente and the Original Instructions . . . to the governor . . . ’ ” (Engelhardt).

Meantime, the papers had come and gone!

To this, Serra made answer in a lengthy epistle, dated March 23, 1781, in which he says, “*I swear upon the word and honor of a priest* [“Yo juro in Verbo Sacerdotis y tacto pectore Sacerdotali” (note)], that I am not in possession of the original patent . . . ’ ” (*ibid.*).

In the meantime, it had been settled; but it was some time after December 24, 1780, the date of the letter from Croix, giving permission to Serra to continue administering confirmation, that the letter was received by the *padre presidente* together with one from Governor Neve, dated San Gabriel, May 19, 1781, both received on August 16, at San Carlos, Carmelo. Croix's letter reads: “ ‘Having been assured by the testimony which His Excellency, the viceroy, has sent to me, that the Brief, which empowers Your Reverence to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in those missions, has the *pase* of the Supreme Council of the Indies and that of the captain-general [the viceroy] of Mexico, I to-day instruct Governor Felipe de Neve not

to prevent Your Reverence from using said faculty, and that for its exercise he furnish Your Reverence with the escort which you ask of him and which you need' " (Engelhardt). Governor Neve, also, "informed Serra . . . that there was no longer any obstacle to his administering the sacrament" (Bancroft).

The foregoing, long as it is, is the merest digest of this many-sided controversy, but quite sufficient for these pages and made with infinite care. That it was a matter of importance to the participants is shown in the acrimony displayed in the correspondence. It is not possible to draw conclusions.

The "whys and wherefores" remain unanswered—threads in the fabric of the Californias, without which the weave would be neither so colorful nor what it is.

The episode is fully set forth by Bancroft, beginning with p. 319, Vol. I, *History of California*; it is also set forth, at length, by Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, in his *Missions and Missionaries of California*, Vol. II, pp. 296-318, both liberally drawn upon here;—practically the same story, told by each in his own way.

Besides the important documents for the *padre presidente* which had arrived by the transport, and news that two frigates were being outfitted for exploration on the northwest coast, a report received, that, by order of the king, and sanctioned by the pope, the missions of the Californias were to become *custodias*, was not greeted by the *padres* with the ringing of joy bells.

It is not necessary to probe the subject, as *custodias* were never established in the Californias—only threatened. But it is necessary to know, even though the recital at this point throws later events out of chronological order, how so disturbing an element was introduced and wherein the pro-

posed *custodias* differed in plan from the already established missions, in order to understand references to them in other connections and the effect of the report brought by the *Santiago* upon the missionaries in Alta California.

In 1776, Padre Antonio de los Reyes had advocated the *custodia* plan, although his college, Santa Cruz de Querétaro, was strongly in favor of the mission system.

Returning, after a sojourn in Spain, the king's nominee for Bishop of Sonora, approved by the pope, with nineteen friars for his new diocese in his train, Reyes was consecrated at Tacubaya, on September 15, 1782.

"In support of his plan of the *Custodia*,—a plan the complement (ecclesiastically) of the *Intendencia* system of secular control,—Reyes was successful [while in Spain] in marshaling a powerful *junta*, headed by the Franciscan *comisario-general* of the Indies, Manuel de la Vega. The conclusive argument for the plan was the great distance between missions and their colleges or provincials, and the varying sets of rules governing missions" (Richman, note).

Reyes had secured a royal decree, dated May 20, 1782, and a papal bull—material evidences of his success—empowering him to establish the *Custodia* of San Carlos in Sonora, and another at San Gabriel for the Californias. But no hint that these were in his possession seems to have escaped the bishop until such time—after his consecration—as he saw fit to disclose the fact.

The plan for *custodias*, as promulgated, is, in outline, as follows: The *provincias* were to be divided into *custodia* districts; in the important towns in each district, a *hospicio* was to be established, in which were to dwell six or more *padres*, one being director and responsible to the *comisario general*. These *padres* were to go forth as missionaries, journeying to the mining camps, to the smaller *pueblos*, and from *ranchería* to *ranchería*, and were, with some governmental assistance, to depend, as did the Franciscans of old, upon the piously inclined for support.

The plan was not new, and in the very early days of New Spain, had been successful. But the Reyes project was beset with opposition. His college, as well as San Fernando and Guadalupe de Zacatecas, filed vigorous protests, while "his own brethren of Querétaro openly charged the bishop with having misrepresented the situation in Sonora, and with having obtained the Bull surreptitiously" (Engelhardt). However, on October 23, 1783, Bishop Reyes, as apostolic delegate, formally organized the Custodia of San Carlos.

The Custodia of San Gabriel did not materialize, the idea being abandoned by the bishop. The Custodia of San Carlos, never a success, was dissolved by royal decree within the decade.

As to the complementary *intendencia* plan: that was not put in operation until, by order of September 4, 1786, *intendentes* were appointed for various places—but none for the Californias.

In February, 1779, the expedition reported by the *Santiago* as preparing, consisting of two vessels, commanded by Lieutenant Ignacio Arteaga on the *Princesa*, with the second vessel, the *Favorita*, under command of Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, set sail from San Blas, under royal orders, for exploration on the far northwest coast.

On April 9, of the same year, the viceroy, Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, passed away.

No surer guiding hand was possible than had been that of this great executive, in whom were combined ability of a very high order and honor second to none. With Truth, which he was ever seeking, before him, his course was straight "with neither variableness nor shadow of turning."

While he lived, he was appreciated by his king and the

people; and, in the annals of New Spain, his name stands out clean and untarnished.

By order of the king, no *residencia* was taken; in other words, the usual examination into an official's acts during incumbency was omitted.

He was buried in the church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

In June, 1779, on the 26th, the *Santiago*—captain, Estévan Martínez; pilot, José Nobóa—arrived at San Francisco. The chaplain on board was the Reverend Nicolas Loera, of the diocese of Guadalajara, the first secular priest to undertake the voyage to Alta California. Padre Fray José Nosedal, chaplain on board the year before, 1778, had died a few days after the vessel reached San Blas.

In the middle of September, the Arteaga expedition anchored in San Francisco Bay, having reached latitude 60°, but having failed to find either English or Russians in possession, although, at that time, there were some of the latter in a little settlement on Kadiak Island. These vessels remained in port six weeks, because of scurvy among the men.

Lieutenant Bodega presented to the church at Dolores a bronze image of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios (one of the names of his vessel, the *Favorita*), a copy of one very famous in Mexico, that he had brought expressly for the purpose. It was placed on the altar with fitting ceremonies, but the *padre presidente* could not be present—this being during the “interdicted period” and when he was not allowed an escort. Later, however, early in October, he did make the journey, walking the whole way; and, at Santa Clara, met some of the officers of the expedition and journeyed with them to San Francisco, where he administered the rite of confirmation, as he did also at Mission Santa Clara, a month later, on his way back to Monterey.

Thereafter, according to Palou, he "refrained from giving Confirmation, lest he be also forbidden to baptize."

During this time, a courier arrived, announcing the death of the viceroy, and, also, war with England. This last news hastened the departure of the *Princesa* and the *Favorita*, which sailed on October 30.

That autumn, the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* were despatched to Manila to carry the news, to give notice of danger, and to take three hundred thousand *pesos* in money. Padre Pedro Font was detailed as chaplain.

On October 11, 1779, the *San José*, under José Imparan, arrived off Monterey. This was the first Manila galleon to touch at the port of call—and that was all she did. A boat was sent ashore by the commander, to notify the officials that he was acting under royal orders and was to take on food and water. He requested that a pilot be sent and that buoys marking deep water be placed. At Carmelo Bay, a sheep and vegetables were procured, while the officers crossed the peninsula to the *presidio*. There, more meat was furnished them and the storehouse key tendered. A soldier who knew the harbor was detailed to act as pilot. After pulling up alongside the vessel, and just as the men had gone on board, the boat capsized, followed by a sudden gale, coming up from nowhere, which drove the *San José* out of the harbor; and the soldier-pilot, being on board, made an unexpected trip to Cape San Lucas, where he was landed!

The wheels of state ground slowly in those days, as well as the mills of God—always; and we read of this matter again. In February, 1782, Don José de Gálvez writes ". . . that though signal fires were lit at Monterey the galleon paid no attention, sailing for Cape San Lucas in defiance of royal orders; that the king is much displeased; and that in future galleons must call at Monterey under a penalty of four thousand dollars, unless prevented by contrary winds (Bancroft). It seems to have been a very

contrary wind that swept the *San José*, soldier-pilot and all, out of the harbor of Monterey.

At the end of the first ten years after the occupation of Alta California, with the capital of the Californias at Monterey, three *presidios*, eight missions, and a *pueblo* had been established. With the governor, two lieutenants, three sergeants, fourteen corporals, and about one hundred and forty soldiers; sixteen friars; a surgeon; three storekeepers and five master mechanics; some twenty settlers; thirty *servientes*, not servants—artisans, useful men of all sorts, even *vaqueros*—the *gente de razón*—Spanish and mixed blood—numbered close to five hundred. Upkeep, annual expenses, had increased and ran up to something like ten thousand *pesos* more than the fifty thousand appropriated under the Echeveste *reglamento*. In 1780, farming at the *pueblo*, San José, began to be successful; and, in the same year, the new *adobe* church at San Diego was completed.

An antidote to the bitterness of much of the preceding is a little story, which may quite properly be told here.

Fray Benito Cambón, ill and suffering, had been given leave to return to Mexico. Fray Matías Antonio de Santa Catarina y Noriega, who was chaplain of the Arteaga expedition, agreed to remain in his stead with Padre Palou, at Dolores, thus allowing Fray Benito to serve as chaplain on the return voyage to San Blas. And that is the way it came about that Padre Cambón returned to Mexico with the Arteaga expedition.

When he reached Mexico, he was more ill than when he began the journey, but his heart yearned for California. Growing better, he determined to return on the *Santiago*. With his earnings as chaplain, he bought a supply of maize and sugar, which he intended to take back as a gift to the mission at Dolores.

Captain Bruno de Heceta, on the *Princesa*, was ordered to Manila at that time, and Cambón was detailed to accompany him. So the maize and sugar, bought with all the money Fray Benito had in the world, went without him, a loving message to those in his heart and mind.

When the *Santiago* — Captain Estévan Martínez — arrived at Monterey, which was not until the next October, 1780, the cargo was unloaded there, San Francisco goods and the precious maize and sugar with the rest. But they did eventually reach their destination, for, later, they were sent up by pack train.

In 1781, no supply boats arrived. The *Santiago*, upon her return to San Blas, was sent to Lima for quicksilver, none being procurable from Spain because of the war; and San Francisco had no supplies for more than a year.

Cambón went to Manila. The Governor of the Philippines not only paid him what was due him but for several months in addition. Again, his heart went out to those in far-away California, and again he spent his pay as chaplain for his mission, San Francisco de Asís at Dolores. He purchased vestments, wax to make candles for the altar, and other things for the church, until he had no money left with which to buy anything more.

On his return to his beloved California, Padre Cambón acted as chaplain on board the *San Carlos de las Filipinas* — Captain Juan González — a new *San Carlos*, built at Manila to take the place of the unlucky transport, *San Carlos*, that had done duty along the coast for so many years.

All — the *San Carlos*, Padre Cambón and his purchases — arrived safely at San Diego, this time the port of call, on December 9, 1781, where he was released as chaplain on board, an Augustinian friar, a passenger, agreeing to serve in that capacity on the voyage to San Blas.

But, at San Diego, it was discovered that Fray Benito's

packages were billed through to San Blas! They went—but they came back again, arriving on the transport on May 13, 1782, none the worse for the additional “round trip.”

The story of the *padre's* purchases is a refreshing oasis in a desert of worry—yes, and of heartbreak, too, for Serra's heart did break under the Neve régime!

XXIV

Promises made by the Spaniards to Salvador Palma, the Yuma chief, were long in fulfillment.

Anza and Garcés had urged that if the overland route was to be kept open and of any use, it could be done only by preserving the friendly relations already established with the Yuma Indians—eager at that time for the Spaniards to come among them bringing missionaries and founding missions and settlements—emphasizing that without their coöperation, the crossing of the Colorado River could not possibly be managed.

After the change in government on January 1, 1777, these Gila-Colorado affairs were no longer under the jurisdiction of the viceroy, whose plans for missions and settlements, including the moving of the *presidios* of Horcasitas and Buenavista, were already outlined, but were under the jurisdiction of the *comandante general*. Full information was furnished him and he was carefully advised in these matters, but—Croix lacked comprehension—their importance seems never to have been brought home to him. By July, 1777, he had made up his mind that the expensive Bucareli plan was unnecessary. Furthermore, action in these matters was postponed by him until he should be at Arispe, and, for a time, at least, so far as he was concerned, they were wiped off the slate of the *comandancia*. Dismissed, they may, also, have been well-nigh forgotten.

But Palma had not forgotten and had gone twice to Altar and once to Horcasitas to ask the reason for such delay and to plead that the matter be hastened. Each time he had gone back to the Yumas with fresh assurances of the coming of the missionaries. He had relied implicitly

on what he had been told in Mexico, and, in his turn, had made promises to his people, who hung upon his word. But when many moons had waxed and waned, and still no missionaries came, there was "none so poor to do him reverence." Palma had lost caste.

On February 3, 1779, after one of his pathetic little visits to the Presidio of Altar, where he had been "made much of," Croix was informed of Palma's predicament. This communication must have held for him some special appeal. Palma's petitions were, by this time, not new to Croix, and now, at last, they were to bear fruit (apples of the Dead Sea). For, although he had not yet reached Arispe, Croix, later in the same month, wrote to the College of Santa Cruz that he was ready to proceed with these matters and authorized the sending of two missionaries to the junction.

Garcés was to be one of the missionaries and, as to details, with which Croix seems to have had nothing to do, made many suggestions, most of which, such, at least, as now appear, were adopted, but how far they were actually carried out is another matter. As little money—the least possible that could suffice—was available, economy along all lines was urged. Although Garcés was a Franciscan, and as a Franciscan taking for himself no thought of the morrow, it is impossible to feel that, with his experience for a guide, he made no protest, unless—Palma's life being in danger because of the nonappearance of the missionaries—his sense of duty, in the urgent need that the expedition be sent without delay, dominated all else; or that he understood this to be a first-aid emergency stop-gap to be followed at once by something adequate to all needs, which Croix had in mind. But if he simply held his peace for no great controlling reason, taking meekly what he could get—then the good *padre* was indeed improvident and lacked foresight.

Twelve soldiers were detailed. Garcés thought it would

be advisable to have their families with them, hoping to steady them and to put a stop to their too ardent and, also, undesired attentions to the Indian women. But a Sonora official thought otherwise, and, the obverse presenting itself, he frowned upon the idea, fearing the Indian braves might covet the soldiers' wives!

Díaz, the other missionary, who, with Garcés, had been with Anza breaking a way overland into Alta California, was furnished two thousand *pesos* with which to outfit the expedition. But, with all that must be purchased—everything from mules to trinkets for the Indians along the road—the money did not last long, and, on July 8, when he turned in his account to Governor Don Pedro Corbalán, not a *real* remained.

After preparations were well under way, Croix seems to have had some misgivings as to the wisdom of the idea or the way in which it was being carried out, for, in May, something prompted him to issue orders to hold back everything in connection. These, for some reason, were not received in Sonora until after the meagerly—one dares to say penuriously—equipped little expedition had been sent on its way in August, through Papaguería to the junction.

That year there had been but little rain. In consequence, hardships and the usual difficulties of a journey through that arid land were increased. The expedition, as originally despatched, got no farther than Sonoita. From there, Garcés, with only two soldiers, went on, arriving at his destination with provisions about gone and, so far as gifts for the Indians were concerned, empty-handed.

On September 2, not long after arrival, he wrote to Croix in regard to conditions as he found them. On the same day, he wrote to Don Pedro Corbalán, who had promised Croix to assist the *padre*, asking for a grant of three hundred *pesos*, saying that gifts for the Indians must be forthcoming and interpreters paid, and that without what he asked he would be helpless!

On the 3d, his messengers, the two soldiers who had accompanied him from Sonoita, departed with the letters, and he was left alone among the Indians. During the month that followed, the *padre* had ample time for reflection and to arrive at the psychology of the situation. Palma was as cordial as of old. But Garcés now realized only too well that Palma had no authority actually vested in him as head of a tribal group; that, in fact, he was only one among many petty chiefs; and that his own prestige among the Indians hung by the slender thread of Palma's weakened personal influence.

Among the Yumas, the whole atmosphere had changed.

Padre Garcés, bearing no gifts, had arrived in but humble fashion, and respect for him and for a people who could send him to them in so niggardly a way, diminished. Like the ever widening circles from a pebble dropped into a pool, this disaffection was spreading to the neighboring tribes, the Cajuenches, Jalchedunes, and others. They, too, had been waiting impatiently for missionaries. The thought of being made Christians had been very enticing, including, as it did, according to their lights, food and raiment;—and it meant the same thing to the Yumas as to their neighbors. With nothing at his command and nothing in immediate prospect, the *padre* had no way to meet these expectations. The outlook was not encouraging.

On October 2, Díaz put in an appearance with the other soldiers, who, at Sonoita, had been on the point of deserting, dismayed by what lay before them. Díaz sent to Altar for aid, and received advice—which he did not follow. He was urged to abandon the whole thing. But it is not to be imagined that anything short of death could have prevented the *padre* from following his colleague, and, in some way, he prevailed upon the soldiers to continue with him.

The same difficulties which had confronted one at the junction, now confronted two. The *padres* were encircled with perplexing conditions. The Indians were restless. The various tribes were not at war with one another but, decidedly, were not obsessed by a desire for peace. The warpath was now far more alluring to them than was the Spanish road to the "happy hunting ground." The *padres* had nothing with which to attract or hold them.

The two were eking out a miserable existence at Palma's *ranchería*, and what might have been easily accomplished with properly organized missions, backed by a *presidio* and soldiers, was, in their unhappy position, an impossible task. Nothing was being done.

On September 30, Don Pedro Corbalán had forwarded to the *comandante general* the Díaz account, rendered on July 8, and the Garcés letter of September 2, asking for a grant of three hundred *pesos*.

This request, Governor Corbalán had refused.

In November, Garcés wrote direct to Croix, urging a second mission and settlements, troops and further financial aid.

Missionary work was in a state of partial paralysis. And, after consulting and finding no other way open to them, Díaz set out for Arispe to explain their wretched position to the *comandante general*. Yet, in a letter to Croix, dated December 27 of that year, 1779, Padre Fray Francisco Garcés, the undaunted, nevertheless "rejoiced" that the order issued by General Croix, suspending the Gila-Colorado project, had not overtaken him!

In this connection, the word "motivation," now in such active use, comes insistently to mind: Was this merely a burst of religious enthusiasm? Was it a bit of Spanish bravado, which had survived the donning of the cassock?

Or was the friar, figuratively, "making faces" at the official?

After leaving Mexico in August, 1777, making a tour of inspection by way of Querétaro and Durango to Coahuila and Texas, General Croix reached Chihuahua in March, 1778, remaining there or thereabouts until the fall of the following year. In November of that year, 1779, he arrived at Arispe, Sonora, the capital of the *comandancia*, there to take up his official residence.

At the end of 1779, Lieutenant Governor Rivera y Moncada was ordered by Governor Neve to cross the gulf from Loreto and to report to Comandante General Croix at Arispe, in the matter of soldiers and settlers for the proposed Presidio of Santa Bárbara, the Channel missions and a *pueblo* to be located on the Río Porciúncula (mentioned specifically in the new *reglamento*). Rivera, who was to have entire charge of the recruiting, duly presented himself; and on February 10, 1780, Croix wrote to Neve that Rivera had received instructions, a copy of which he enclosed, and was already carrying out orders.

On the 12th, two days after the date of the above letter, Padre Juan Díaz arrived at the capital to lay the Gila-Colorado situation before the *comandante general*. The two went into consultation and, five days later, Croix issued a decree providing for two settlements. Colonists with their families and soldiers with theirs were to be divided between the two, thus drawing into the scheme of things the *presidio* idea without the expense of *presidios* as such. There were to be two missionaries, as usual, at each place, who, while attending to their duties among the Indians, could, also, act as priests—curates—for the settlements. The plan, a combination affair, a flimsy substitute for sub-

stantial *presidios*, missions, and settlements, is usually credited to Díaz. However that may be the plan, on its face, was one that, in its economy, would, most certainly, strongly appeal to Croix. It would save money and do just as well!

There was to be an allotment of land among the settlers, and the Yumas were to be included. Díaz was invited to make suggestions, and, in a document dated February 19, pointed out that those among the Yumas who desired to do so, could, without delay, come in under the settlement plan, as not only did they understand the rotation and management of crops but were entirely conversant with the individual ownership of land. But the *asesor*, Galindo Navarro, had something to say to this, his opinion being that "It would be against law and equity to dispossess the Indians of lands actually occupied by them . . .; therefore, matters had best be left as they were, as concerned the division of lands among them, until the Spaniards should become better informed" (Chapman), and in March a final decree, modified in accordance with the report of the *asesor*, was issued.

Garcés, upon hearing of the new plan, sent many protests, but in vain.

Croix wrote Gálvez, setting forth, at length, the many advantages possessed by his plan over that in contemplation by Bucareli at the time jurisdiction in the matter was transferred to him.

It is doubtful if Croix was, except in a perfunctory way, really at all interested in these matters. His interest is supposed to have centered in Sonora and in frontier affairs generally, in so far as the framing, in regard to them, of tremendously long memorials, and—it is safe to say—more in that than in what they stood for.

In 1780, some time in the fall, the two colonies—pueblo-missions—were founded: La Purísima Concepción (Fort

Yuma) near the junction, and about eight leagues farther down the Colorado, San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, both on the western or California side.

The Indians were not impressed. Few converts were made and they often apostasized. They could see nothing to their advantage in having these Spaniards there, trampling their rights under foot,—while their live stock trampled their crops. They were not as Palma had depicted them.

After a time, Palma, himself, began to waver.

Nor could the *padres* see much semblance to missions in what had been established there.

A young friar, Juan Barreneche, had joined Padre Garcés at Concepción, while the two *frailes* at Bicuñer were Juan Díaz and Matías Moreno. All were in the depths of discouragement.

Food became very scarce; and the Yumas either insolently refused to sell their surplus to the Spaniards except at prohibitive prices, or refused to sell at all.

In June, soldiers were sent to San Gabriel to ask for assistance and to inform them there that unless it could be had, the missions on the Colorado would have to be abandoned. They were given clothing and some money with which to purchase cattle and provisions, and returned well supplied with what they had been sent to obtain. The Franciscans accepted the clothing because their Indians were in need of it, but refused the money.

"Even the worm will turn being trodden on," and at last Palma, who had been faithful so long and against such odds, joined the ranks of those inciting retaliation against the little group of Spaniards.

Rivera y Moncada, who had been recruiting for the Santa Bárbara Channel establishments and the *pueblo* to

be founded on the Río Porciúncula, divided his expedition into two sections and despatched the first, under command of Lieutenant Don José de Zúñiga, by way of Guaymas across the gulf to Loreto. Several plans had been proposed, with this result.

From Loreto, the party reëmbarked on March 12 for San Luis Bay, where they arrived on April 24. There were seventeen soldier-colonists with this group, the rest being simply colonists, artisans, and laborers with their families. It seems to have been an arduous task, for many months had been given to this recruiting and yet the full quota which had been decided upon had not been collected. From San Luis Bay, this division proceeded up the Peninsula to San Diego, and from there to the rendezvous of the expedition, San Gabriel, where Captain Rivera was to meet them.

The division, commanded by Rivera himself, marched from Álamos, Sonora, some time in April. There were forty-two soldiers, thirty of them having their families with them, but there seem to have been no settlers proper. From Tucson, as far as the Gila and Colorado rivers, a company of soldiers, under Alférez Andrés Árias Caballero, acted as escort. An enormous herd of horses and mules—nearly a thousand head—was convoyed by this division.

From the junction, Sergeant Juan José Robles, who, with six soldiers, had been sent from Monterey by Governor Neve to meet the expedition, was to act as escort to San Gabriel.

No *entente cordiale* was brought about with the Yumas by the arrival, in June, of Rivera, with his horses and mules and his soldier-colonists and their families, repeating all they had been enduring from the settlers at the pueblo-missions.

Whether General Croix had again been economical, whether they had been overlooked, or whether the lieuten-

ant governor, incensed at the surliness of the Indians, had, himself, withheld them, few gifts had been forthcoming and there was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction on this account, not confined to the Yumas. Their neighbors, the Jalchedunes, sent word openly to Rivera that, as they had received no gifts, they did not wish to retain badges of office given their chiefs by the Spaniards in the past.

Lieutenant Santiago de Islas, in command of the pueblo-mission group, added to the general resentment by setting up a whipping post and flogging some of the Yumas for thieving, and by putting Ignacio, Palma's brother, into the stocks.

Because of the exhausted condition of many of the animals after their long journey, it became necessary to change the original plan somewhat. Rivera again broke the expedition into two sections, sending on all the married soldiers and their families, and such of the stock as could continue, under escort of Alférez Cayetano Limón, who, with his nine regulars, was later to return to Sonora. With this division were Lieutenant Diego González and Alférez José Darío Argüello. On July 14, they arrived at San Gabriel, before the division under Lieutenant Zúñiga up the Peninsula, which did not reach there until August 18.

Keeping Sergeant Robles with him, Rivera remained and, recrossing the Colorado, went into camp.

Now began, on the east bank, the same devastating process; and everything was grazed off—even the mesquite. It was evident to the Indians that soon nothing on either side of the river would be left.

One thing followed another, until the desire for revenge burned strong within them.

Then came retaliation, swift, sure, unexpected, and complete.

In the early morning, at about the same time, on the

same day, July 17, 1781, both pueblo-missions were attacked.

At Bicuñer, the two friars, Juan Díaz and Matías Moreno, were killed, as were the soldiers and some of the settlers. Others, and all of the women and children, were taken prisoners. The furnishings of the altar were cast into the river; and the church, as well as all the other buildings, burned. The vestments, the Indians appropriated to their own uses.

At Concepción, they were not so thorough—at first. Some of the colonists were away in the fields, and, after killing those at hand, the Indians, sparing the *padres*, abandoned their bloody work—unable to resist the lure of Rivera's camp beckoning them to wreak their vengeance there.

The Yumas now withdrew, crossed the river, and—on the same day or in the early morning of the next—fell upon the camp in countless numbers. Hurriedly entrenching themselves, the Spaniards met the attack with determined resistance and fought until not one remained. And so, Rivera, the unhappy one, died—whatever else, brave, and a true soldier to the end.

What the Indians had intended there had been accomplished; but their lust for revenge was still unsatisfied; murder was in their hearts. Concepción was revisited.

According to the tenets of their religion, all the Spaniards had been prepared for death—and Death came, coming, as to the others, to Francisco Garcés, who, follower of Jesus, the Christ, the Saviour of men, had, on that day, trod his own *Via Crucis*. And Death came to the young friar who was with him, Juan Barreneche.

Again the women and children were spared and, although made to work, no harm came to them, nor to those at the pueblo-mission, San Pedro y San Pablo at Bicuñer.

Their victims were not tortured. The Yuma Indians

simply killed, and as quickly as possible, ridding themselves of an undesirable element that had come to appropriate and lay waste their lands.

Safely conducting the division sent in advance to its destination, Alférez Cayetano Limón was nearing the Colorado on his return, when rumors of the massacre began coming to him. Leaving two of his men to guard the pack animals, he went forward to ascertain the truth. He was not left long in doubt when he saw the burned buildings and came upon the dead—Padre Moreno's body having been decapitated. As he was immediately attacked, he was obliged to retreat, fighting his way as he went. Both he and his son were wounded; and at the place he had left the two men, they found that both had been killed.

At length, Limón reached San Gabriel, the bearer to Governor Neve of the ghastly news. He asked that he be allowed to return with twenty additional men, to avenge the murders. But this the governor did not sanction, and ordered Limón to Sonora by way of Loreto, to carry despatches to Croix.

General Croix had already received news of the massacre before the arrival of Limón, and had ordered Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Fages to proceed to the scene of the tragedy with enough soldiers to bring the Indians to terms and to rescue or ransom the captives; and, on the 9th of September, "a council of war was held at Arizpe, and decided that as the Yumas after urging the establishment of missions had risen without cause, they must according to the laws be proceeded against as apostates and rebels. A sufficient force must be sent to the Colorado to investigate, ransom, and punish, and peace be made on condition that the natives voluntarily submit, and deliver the captives and their property; the ringleaders should then be put to death on the spot. If they would do this, well; if

not, war should follow, and the neighboring tribes might be employed against the foe" (Bancroft). Brave words those, but just words!

An expedition under command of Fages was despatched to do these things. With him were the usual officers and one hundred soldiers, some of them Catalan Volunteers, and, also, many Indians friendly to the Spaniards—just how many does not appear, but, as the Yumas and their allies could put a large number of warriors into the field, relatively they were very few.

When Fages arrived at the Colorado, the Yumas were nowhere to be seen. It was learned that the Indians had retired to dense thickets, about eight leagues down the river, impossible for the Spaniards to penetrate, and where they were perfectly safe from them.

Negotiations were entered into, however, and it is thought that all the captives were ransomed.

As it was inadvisable to attack where there was no possibility of success, Fages took the rescued captives to the Presidio of Sonoita; and there, finding a request, which had arrived after his departure for the scene of the tragedy, that the bodies of the four friars be taken to the nearest mission for Christian burial, he turned about, after despatching his reports to Arispe, in which he announced his return to the Colorado, and went again to the river.

Meantime, the resolutions of the *junta* of September 9 had been forwarded by the *comandante general* to Governor Neve, instructing him that he was the proper official to take personal command or to direct the campaign through orders despatched to Lieutenant Colonel Fages.

The bodies of Garcés and Barreneche could not be found when the expedition had first arrived at the Colorado; but, later, it was discovered that the good *padre* and the young friar had been buried and, it is said, their resting place covered with flowers by loving, albeit Indian hands. The bodies of the four friars were taken to Tubutama for

burial—Mission Tubutama, where Garcés had rewritten his diary.

Again the *junta* met, and the report of Fages, sent from Sonoita, was read; and, again, orders were issued to him which did not reach him until he had returned. Fages was to march without delay, attack the Yumas, and send despatches to Governor Neve. If he was not successful in putting the ringleaders to death, he was to turn over the command to Neve; but on January 2, the same *junta* reconvened and modified the order. This time Fages was to proceed as rapidly as possible to San Gabriel, and Governor Neve, with all available troops, was to begin a campaign on the 1st of April.

Fages turned about again and set out for San Gabriel.

XXV

When those composing the division of the Rivera expedition coming by way of the Peninsula arrived at San Gabriel on August 18, they were received by Governor Neve, who had come from Monterey to meet them.

After the massacre at the junction, the idea of establishing the Channel missions was given up for the time; but, as there was not the same need for reorientating and no reason to postpone it, Governor Neve issued instructions on August 26 for the founding of the new *pueblo*.

The *bando*—edict—for the assignment of lands to the *pobladores*—settlers—had already been issued under date of March 8, minutely setting forth how they were to be assigned and how held.

The *pueblo* was to be laid out on high ground near the river, from which water was to be taken for irrigation. The *plaza*, around which it was to be built, was to be two hundred by three hundred feet, the corners to the cardinal points. All house lots—*solares*—were to be twenty by forty *varas* each. One *solar* and four *suertes*—sowing lots—two irrigable and two dry, were to go to each settler, and all lands were to be “indivisible and inalienable forever”—a long time! Neither salable nor mortgageable, the undivided holdings of a *poblador* might be left by will to one child in preference to another, thus not necessarily falling to the eldest. There were *realengas*—reserved lands; *propios*—sowing lands—rented to pay municipal expenses. There were to be neither tithes nor taxes for five years. They were to receive ten *pesos* a month and regular rations, for three years, together with an advance of clothing, live

stock, seed and implements, to be repaid from the yield of the land.

On September 1, Governor Felipe de Neve, with the *pobladores* and their families in his wake, led the way from Mission San Gabriel to the spot already selected, about four leagues to the west, on the river named in 1769 by Don Gaspar de Portolá; and there, on September 4, 1781, founded El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles de Porciúncula.

After surveys and plotting were completed, the lands were assigned.

In this group of *pobladores*, later both weeded out and added to, assembled with their families for the founding, were forty-six persons: twelve men, eleven women, eleven boys, and twelve girls. These "founders," after all the recruiting and the time taken to get them together, were a motley lot—a strange mixture of blood. Of the men, two were listed as Spaniards; four were Indians; one a *mestizo*—a half-breed, Spanish and Indian; two were negroes, out and out; while one was a *chino*, long thought by translators to have been, in some mysterious way, a Chinaman. The group was astonishing enough without that fantastic touch! *Chino* is not necessarily—yet sometimes is—Chinese, for a *chino* is, also, the offspring of an Indian mother by a father who is Spanish and negro; a crinkly-haired youngster is sometimes teasingly dubbed "*chinito*."

The way they had mated is interesting: José de Lara and Antonio (Felix) Villavicencio, both so-called, or, maybe, genuine Spaniards, had Indian wives—but that was very usual; while the *mestizo*, José Antonio Navarro, himself Spanish and Indian, had for a wife a mulattress. The wife of one Indian was listed as a *coyote*—mongrel is a good definition—but the others quite properly had Indian

wives. The mulattoes were mated with their own kind. The negroes were married to mulattresses. Whatever she was, the wife of the *chino* did not accompany him from Loreto, if, indeed, he, himself, ever came. He does not seem to have been again mentioned. Many children resulted from these mixed marriages.

In Alta California, *gente de razón*—civilized persons—broadly included all except Indians, and, with the same exception, sweepingly, whatever the mixture of blood, all were "whites." In Mexico, the population of whole villages of mulattoes was officially listed as "white."

Before leaving Loreto, two settlers had deserted, and another, for some reason, had remained there. Of those finally assembled, three were unable to work. The others, however, worked to some purpose on the irrigating ditches and temporary palisade huts with roofs of mud. By the end of 1784, the huts had been replaced by *adobe* houses, and a church begun. De Lara, the Spaniard, and Mesa and Quintero, the negroes, must have been undesirable citizens, for they were sent away and their lands confiscated.

Finding that no general outbreak had followed the massacre, Governor Neve notified the *padre presidente* in February, 1782, that he was ready to proceed with the Santa Bárbara Channel missions, and asked for two missionaries to begin with.

Padre Cambón had returned from the Philippines and was at that time at San Diego. Summoning him to San Gabriel, Serra went south overland to meet him, giving confirmation at San Antonio and San Luis Obispo on the way, and stopping for the night at the new *pueblo* of Los Angeles, founded in September of the year before. At that time, Serra was sixty-eight years old, and lame, and had just traveled nearly one hundred and thirty leagues,

but on the next morning he was up betimes, and before noon—fasting—he had walked to San Gabriel (the present location, not where originally founded), where he sang high mass and preached a sermon. It would seem incredible, were not the authority (Engelhardt) indisputable.

At a conference as to ways and means, in which Serra, Neve, and three missionaries took part, it was resolved to found at that time Mission San Buenaventura and the mission and Presidio of Santa Bárbara, without waiting for the six friars promised by the College of San Fernando for the Channel establishments. So that there might be no delay, Serra and Cambón offered to take charge of the new missions temporarily, one at each place.

On March 6, Governor Neve instructed Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega, who was to command the new *presidio*, that the Santa Bárbara Channel missions were to be operated as *hospicios*. The Indians were to be allowed to continue, so far as possible, in their natural way of living and, further, they were not to be taken into the missions and put to work. *Propaganda fide* was to be brought about by pastoral visits to their *rancherías*. Thus, *custodias* were clearly indicated; but, at all events, whatever was in contemplation, the mission system was to be departed from. This was not known, at that time, to Serra or to the other friars in Alta California.

On Tuesday in Holy Week, March 26, the expedition set out—an imposing cavalcade: the two friars, Serra and Cambón; Governor Neve, Lieutenant Ortega, one *alférez*, three sergeants, a number of corporals, seventy soldiers, women and children, *arrieros* and a pack train, Indian servants and a number of neophytes to assist in putting the missions in working trim. But, about midnight, a courier overtook them, bringing despatches from Comandante General Croix, ordering Neve to join Fages in a campaign against the Yuma Indians, and giving orders to proceed with the founding of Mission San Buenaventura, Governor

Neve returned to San Gabriel to meet Lieutenant Colonel Fages.

Neve did not approve of the immediate campaign planned by Croix as the Colorado would be in flood, but decided upon September as the better time, after the Yumas' crops had been garnered, when it would be easier to maintain the troops. Later, this decision was approved by Croix.

Fages was sent back to the junction.

On May 16, the *junta* met and passed many resolutions. These, together with the diary kept by Captain José Antonio de Roméu earlier in the campaign, were sent to Governor Neve for his information.

On March 29, the caravan, on its way to found the new establishments, reached the spot chosen for the first mission, Asunción, near the large *ranchería* at the southern end of the Santa Bárbara Channel, and on Easter Sunday, falling that year, 1782, on March 31, the cross was raised. Thus, at long last, twelve years after the furnishings for "the intermediate mission" had been packed by Don José de Gálvez with his own hands, Mission San Buenaventura was founded. A chapel, dwellings, and a stockade followed quickly, as the Indians, in exchange for a few trinkets, gave willing assistance. When Don Felipe arrived later and found the mission being conducted according to the old system, he made no objection. The massacre at the pueblo-missions may have been the cause of his temporary or seeming docility. Fourteen soldiers were detailed as the mission guard.

The Santa Bárbara *presidio* was next established at San Joaquín de la Laguna, ten leagues to the northwest of San Buenaventura, on April 21 of the same year, 1782. Very strict orders were issued: Indians, except in small numbers and unarmed, were not to be allowed within the *estacada*; and soldiers were not, upon any pretext, to visit the

rancherías, the penalty for infringement of this rule being fifteen days' guard duty, wearing four *cueras*.

A chapel was built, dwellings for the friars and officers, barracks for the soldiers, and houses for the families; and still no word was said by the governor as to what day the mission was to be founded. Finally, Neve told Serra that nothing would be done about it at that time.

Serra was to have remained until the arrival of the six friars from Mexico, but as Mission Santa Bárbara was not to be founded at that time he could see no reason whatever for remaining and, summoning a supernumerary to attend to the spiritual needs of the *presidio*, he took his departure, reaching his own mission, San Carlos Borromeo, about the 17th of May.

Several days before this, the long-expected vessels arrived at San Francisco but without the six friars. The two frigates were the *Favorita*—Captain Agustín de Echeverría, and the *Princesa*—Captain Estévan Martínez. Both chaplains were secular priests. The usual supplies were brought, but nothing came for the Channel missions.

Letters forwarded from San Francisco to the *padre presidente* at Monterey enlightened him as to much that must have been already known to the governor while still unknown to him. For many months a lively controversy had been going on in Mexico over the Santa Bárbara Channel establishments, in which the viceroy, the *comandante general*, the Guardian of the College of San Fernando and the *síndico* were taking part—but of this Serra seems to have been in blissful ignorance.

Truly, the outlook was dark and the trend of mission affairs to him, at that time, a matter of grave concern.

Drawn from letters given by Engelhardt and from other sources, stripped of verbiage and circumlocution as nearly as may be, this is the story the frigates brought to Serra: Nearly a year and a half before this time, on December 7,

1780, Viceroy Martín de Mayorga wrote to Fray Guardian Francisco Pángua, asking that six friars be detailed for the Santa Bárbara Channel missions, mentioning that two would be expected to go with the overland division of the Rivera expedition and the others via San Blas, urging him to expedite the order, and saying: "I am ready to grant you the assistance which you for that purpose may ask of me" (Engelhardt).

Certain worrying clauses in the *Neve reglamento*, shadowy *custodias* taking shape on the horizon, and the shabby treatment of Garcés and Díaz were good reasons for Pángua's meticulously prepared reply of December 18 to the viceroy from the *discretos* of the College of San Fernando.

He wisely determined to go carefully, not daring to take anything for granted. He therefore stated exactly what would be needed and expected for "church, house and field": the usual furnishings, bells, vestments, funds for foundation; utensils, tools, farming implements; cattle and other animals, saying frankly that the two thousand dollars "released [*libro*] from the Pious Funds of California" would not be sufficient to purchase everything on his list, nor had "the *síndico* ever covered the expenses with those means." He supplicated His Excellency "to be pleased to name another person to furnish said invoice" (*ibid.*).

It was known to Fray Pángua that up to the end of August, the supply ship for the year had not yet reached San Diego; and, with this in mind, he suggested that if it were not possible to provide adequately for all—missions, *presidios*, and *pueblos* already established and those in contemplation—it would be well to postpone the proposed new foundations for another year.

(In Alta California, in that year, 1780, the specter of starvation stalked in their very midst.)

Guarding against unannounced innovations, lest they be entering wedges for others, Pángua made the special point that six missionaries, two for each mission, be sent. In

closing, he begged His Excellency to spare the friars the hardship of the eight-hundred-league journey overland and that he decree that all embark from San Blas, saying, ingenuously, " 'We are not accustomed, nor know we how to travel by horseback . . . ' " (*ibid.*).

No answer was received from the viceroy for nearly four months. At last, one dated April 5, 1781, arrived, bringing word that all the friars might proceed by way of San Blas. But as to requirements, only such things would be provided or forwarded as were specified by the *comandante general*, and that was final; the subject was closed, absolutely.

Further, neither the Governor of the Californias, who knew the territory, nor the *comandante general* having suggested sending either household goods or field implements, there need be no delay on that account; but if, after arrival, the friars found they were needed, the matter could then be taken up. And he hoped that His Reverence would see that they " 'march without delay . . . and lose not a moment to accomplish this just object' " (*ibid.*).

On the 7th, Pángua replied, in part, that it was not necessary for him to wait for a report from the friars to know what was indispensable to the success of their work, saying: " 'Indians . . . are attracted more by what they receive from the missionaries, than by what is preached to them' " (*ibid.*), and on April 9, he wrote, " 'After I informed the six religious destined for the Channel Missions regarding Your Excellency's order of the 5th of the current month, they addressed to me a written remonstrance which accompanies this, . . . I doubt that there are other religious who would want to go unless they are given the aid of what is necessary for house and field. Without this all declare that it would not be possible to found a mission . . . ' " (*ibid.*).

In a memorial dated the 19th, Pángua reasons his way through the whole subject, explaining that the missionaries ask nothing for themselves, but that the Indians " 'are

attentive with their whole heart to those only from whom they receive temporal benefits' " (*ibid.*); that not only must there be something to catch their attention, but—more difficult—something to hold it: the garnered grain, the woven cloth—food and raiment—material aids, but without which nothing can be accomplished and which, coupled with education and training, lead gradually up to such spiritual comprehension as they are capable of developing.

He diplomatically but distinctly states that the friars who had been detailed for the Santa Bárbara Channel establishments decline to go and cannot be compelled; that they " 'had freely and piously offered themselves . . . but . . . now are not of the same mind' " (*ibid.*); further, that to the *discretos* of the College, this reason " 'for excusing themselves and of withdrawing seems just, prudent, and approved by long experience' " (*ibid.*). As a matter of fact, two only of the six friars detailed at that time ever went to Alta California: Diego Nobóa and Juan Riobóo.

In writing to Serra, Fray Guardian Pángua, after giving the tenor of the Neve *reglamento* which, at that date, had not yet been published in Alta California, said: " 'I fear that the governor will have to attempt the founding of all, or at least of one of the three missions; but here all uniformly feel that there must be no yielding unless all the assistance required is granted, . . . for there is no reason why the work of the missionaries should be destroyed . . . ' " (*ibid.*).

Missionary work evidently was voluntary. The friars had the right to refuse and they did refuse.

It looks very much like a "strike" on the part of the friars.

XXVI

On August 21, 1782, Governor Neve and Lieutenant Colonel Fages, who was again at San Gabriel, marched with sixty men to begin the postponed campaign against the Yuma Indians. When they were within about three days' march of their destination, they were met by a courier bringing despatches to both, under date of July 12. *El señor gobernador*—the governor—had been promoted; and so, indeed, had *el teniente coronel*—the lieutenant colonel. Governor Neve had been appointed *comandante inspector* of the Provincias Internas, and, after having subdued the Yumas, was to proceed to Sonora. Fages was to turn back, then and there, returning as Governor of the Californias.

Bancroft tells us that in the customary instructions from an official to his successor, secret in this case, dated September 7, Neve "shows more opposition to the friars than ever before," and that "If the governor was somewhat severe at the last, it must be admitted that his patience had been sorely tried." However sorely tried his patience may have been, must it not also be admitted that he, himself, was rather good at nagging?

Under the *comandancia*, because of the distance of the province from the capital, Arispe, Sonora, the Governor of the Californias was also military inspector. There was an *ayudante*—adjutant—in Baja California, Don Nicolas Soler; and, in arranging to take part personally in the Yuma campaign, Governor Neve had, on July 12, ordered him

to Monterey to take charge during his absence, thus, in a way, creating him temporary ruler.

Governor Neve was awaited at the Colorado by Captain José Antonio de Roméu with one hundred and eight men, and the third campaign against the Yumas was begun. Orders were followed but the campaign was a failure. Salvador Palma was not captured. Peace was not restored and never was, entirely, the Yumas remaining more or less hostile. Palma wrote, asking pardon;—but, as valuable, devoted allies, the Yumas had been forever lost.

The foundation of peace and good will, so carefully and well laid by Don Juan Bautista de Anza, had been wasted, and, depending on that, the unhampered use of the overland route across the Gila and Colorado rivers could not be regained.

Harking back: Entirely through Croix's delay, the opportunity to cement the already possessed friendship of the Yumas had been allowed to slip by. Obsessed by the Apache situation, it does not seem to have occurred to him that the Yumas, upon whom, at that time, he was relying as allies, left to themselves and with promises made to them disregarded, might, also, become unmanageable. Besides definite royal orders, Gálvez had instructed Croix, urging the importance of looking well after Colorado-Gila affairs; Bucareli had mapped out a course for him to follow and Oconor had furnished him with valuable applicable information based upon his own experience. In large, all may be laid at Croix's door—and must be, as he was the *comandante general*.

Felipe de Neve, departing from Alta California, leaves one cold. He has struck no responsive chord; not a single note vibrates in unison; while Pedro Fages—who in all

probability could not have framed the famous *reglamento*—comes to us a glowing personality.

From Saucito, the camp in the desert, Governor Don Pedro Fages returned to Alta California, according to orders, going direct to San Diego to begin his tour of inspection there. On the way, he took care to have the Indians everywhere notified that hostile demonstrations would be severely dealt with. At the mission, he told the neophytes to see that runaways were informed forthwith that, if they did not return, he would, himself, fetch them;—and, as to themselves, to look well after their own conduct! He inspected all the missions, giving no hint that he remembered in any way his unpleasant experience of 1773, when he was superseded at Serra's request. At each mission, he repeated his admonitions, and with excellent effect. The mission Indians had grown lax during the Neve régime, and needed just such a "right about face" as Fages gave them. They knew him well of old, and knew that what he said he meant.

In 1783, Governor Fages went to the south to welcome to the Californias his wife and small son, Pedrito, christened Pedro José Fernando, not yet two years old, for whom Don Pedro Corbalán, Governor of Sonora, had stood sponsor; and, in April or May, they arrived at Loreto.

La Señora Gobernadora Doña Eulalia Callis de Fages was a lady of quality in her own right—the first to journey to Alta California; and, in truth, she did not journey there willingly, for it had required much urging and persuasion, in which the former governor, Don Felipe de Neve, and Captain Roméu had assisted. Don Pedro was most anxious that she should be favorably impressed and every attention conditions permitted was shown her from the time she reached Loreto—by Dominicans, Franciscans, officers and troops, settlers, and even Indians—making her journey northward, which began in July, throughout, a triumphal

progress, until her arrival at the capital in January, 1784.

Joyously, Don Pedro wrote to his mother-in-law, Señora Doña Rosa de Callis, as follows: " 'The Señora Gobernadora is the Benjamin of all who know her; she is getting on famously and Pedrito is like an angel; . . . we live here like princes' " (Bancroft).

To a woman gently bred, life in Alta California at that time meant isolation and monotony. The situation evidently "got on the nerves" of Señora de Fages and the better of her judgment. It is a long story and much of it has no place in these pages. It has been told well, and quite spicily, by several writers and historians. It is enough to say that, coming unwillingly and remaining still more unwillingly, Doña Eulalia seems to have acted very unwisely in her efforts to free herself from her involuntary exile and to force Don Pedro to leave California by any available means—forgetting her position and the proprieties—until things went very much from bad to worse between the couple. Even after a reconciliation, she went so far as to send secretly a petition to the *Audiencia*, in the fall of 1785, asking for the removal of her husband on account of his health. Through the kind offices of a friend, the governor succeeded in intercepting the interesting document before it had been forwarded to Spain.

Doña Eulalia did not succeed in forcing Don Pedro to give up his post. He remained in California;—and so did she!

On June 2, 1783, the *San Carlos*—Captain Estévan Martínez—and *La Favorita*—Captain Juan Bautista Aguirre—arrived in the harbor of San Francisco. On the former came Juan Antonio García Riobóo, and on the latter Diego Nobóa, two of the missionaries originally detailed for the Santa Bárbara Channel missions, but coming now as supernumeraries asked for by Serra.

When the two friars reached San Carlos, they found the *padre presidente* ill, suffering from asthma and with a running sore on his chest. These were not new ailments, but had been contracted years before in Mexico in a most unusual way, Palou writing of the cause as follows:

“Though he never said that he felt the pain and the suffocating spells, or that they molested him, I think he must have suffered from them, because I remember what his paternity practised in many of the mission sermons which he preached among the faithful in order to move his hearers to weep for their faults and to be sorry for their sins. In addition to the chain, which in imitation of San Francisco Solano, he would seize, and with which he would cruelly scourge himself in the pulpit, he would more often take a big stone, which he was accustomed to have ready in the pulpit. At the conclusion of the sermon, at the act of contrition, he would hold the crucifix with his left hand, and with the other he would mercilessly pound his breast with the stone during the whole time of the long act of contrition, so that many of the audience feared that he would crush his breast and fall dead in the pulpit.

“In order the better to excite his audience to repentance, especially when preaching on hell or eternity, the Father would also employ another violent device to punish his body. It was not only painful, but dangerous. In order that the people might picture to themselves the condition of a soul condemned for sin, he would on concluding bare his breast (for which purpose his habit and tunic opened in the front), and then apply a burning torch to his flesh. . . . The Father however, would descend from the pulpit as if nothing had happened to him, though it is but natural that he suffered, and that his breast must have remained sore. Yet he never complained, nor would he use any remedy. He paid as little attention to it as to the sore on his left leg. . . . He would moreover quote the

words of St. Agatha, "Medicinam carnalem corpori meo nunquam exhibui [Earthly medicine I have never applied to my body]" ' ' ' (Engelhardt, Palou).

In this age of disinfectants and the careful sterilization of wounds, all this seems very terrible: these running sores for years uncared for; this maltreatment of the human body! But Serra's behavior in the pulpit was very effective with his congregation, the Indians reacting with tears and lamentations.

The *padre presidente* detailed Fray Nobóa at Mission San Carlos, in order to be free, himself, for a final tour of confirmation, for he felt that the end of his earthly career was drawing near. He wrote to Palou, giving instructions as to the office of *presidente* which, ere long, he would hold, saying, "I tell you all this, because the next thing you may receive concerning me may be the notice of my death, so oppressed do I find myself. Recommend me to God" (*ibid.*).

The *San Carlos* and the *Favorita* had arrived from San Francisco; and, taking the other new friar, Juan Riobóo, with him, Serra embarked on the *San Carlos* in August for San Diego, arriving in September.

Journeying northward from there, overland, he administered confirmation at each mission and bade his colleagues farewell.

At San Gabriel, he almost passed away, but his iron will carried him through, and he arrived at Mission San Carlos at Carmelo, in January, 1784, far better than when he had departed therefrom—and this, after a journey of one hundred and seventy leagues overland, in addition to confirmations, sermons, and the nerve strain of parting with the friars and their flocks.

After returning to San Carlos, he resumed his usual duties. Lent, Holy Week, and Easter, with the many serv-

ices and ceremonies, came and went, and still the *padre presidente* bore his part in all.

Santa Clara's new church was to be dedicated on May 16, and he had not yet visited either that mission or Mission San Francisco de Asís since his return from the south. He began the journey to San Francisco on the 30th of April, intending to visit Santa Clara on his way back and be present at the dedication. He arrived at the mission at Dolores on May 4, and, Padre Palou being called to Mission Santa Clara by the illness, resulting on May 11 in the death of Padre Murguía, it fell to him to prepare the candidates for confirmation.

Padre Fray José Antonio de Jesus María de Murguía was born at Domayguia, Álava, Spain, came to the New World a layman, became a Franciscan, and was ordained at the College of San Fernando, Mexico. He accompanied Palou to San Diego in 1773, and in 1777 was assigned to Mission Santa Clara de Asís.

Architecturally, the new church was the most ambitious effort yet made, and Padre Murguía was the architect, superintended the building of it, and, throwing himself whole-heartedly into the undertaking, worked the while as an ordinary laborer. He was buried in the church on May 12, 1784. Not long after, Padre Nobóa was appointed to take his place.

On the 15th, the *padre presidente* arrived and, on the same day, blessed the new church. At this mission, Serra prepared himself for death, went into retreat, "and then made a general confession, or repeated the one he had made at other times, while he shed many tears. Mine [says Palou] were not fewer . . ." (*ibid.*).

After Serra's return to San Carlos, he received letters forwarded to him from San Francisco, where they had arrived on July 16. They were full of discouraging news: Several friars had died; others, at the expiration of their

ten years, had returned to Spain; and, he was told, no more could possibly be sent to Alta California until recruits arrived.

During the time the *padre presidente* had been empowered to administer confirmation, notwithstanding all the many hindrances, he had confirmed five thousand, three hundred and seven persons. But, on the same day the letters reached San Francisco, his faculty to confirm expired.

All this made Serra very despondent. He felt that the end was approaching—and in more ways than one. He asked that prayers be said for him at all the missions, and that from each of the nearer missions a friar be sent, as he very greatly desired their presence at San Carlos. But he was far more urgent in his appeal to his devoted friend, Palou, begging him to hasten to him. Yet, on August 18, when Palou arrived, he found him up and about, and taking part in the services much as usual. He asked Palou, however, to sing the high mass, celebrated on the 19th of each month in honor of San José, he, himself, singing in the choir with the neophytes.

On the 27th, Serra wished to receive communion and, accompanied by the *comandante* of the *presidio*, troops, and neophytes, he walked unassisted to the church, about one hundred yards away. Says Engelhardt: "Fr. Palóu describes the remarkable scene. 'I came vested from the sacristy and went to the altar. While I prepared to put incense into the censer to begin the holy ceremony, the fervent servant of God with his usual natural and sonorous voice, just as he was wont to do when well, intoned the verse *Tantum ergo Sacramentum*, tears streaming from his eyes the while. I administered the Holy Viaticum with the ceremonies of the ritual.'" At the conclusion, Serra remained long on his knees.

When he left the church to return to his cell, he was followed by every one at the mission.

In the early afternoon of the next day, August 28, 1784, he wrapped his cloak about him and lay down to rest—and Fray Junípero fell asleep to awake not again in this world.

Roses of Castile—“*Varias rosas de Castilla*”—of which he wrote on his journey into Alta California fifteen years before, covered him when, on the next day, he was borne with military honors and in solemn pomp and ceremony to the church, where he was interred in the sanctuary before the altar of Nuestra Señora de Dolores, near his lifelong friend, Juan Crespi.

Miguel José Serra was seventy years, nine months, and four days old on the day of his death.

Padre Fray Francisco Palou, who had been designated to act as *presidente* in the event of the death of Serra, now assumed control.

Governor Fages was not at Monterey and therefore was not present at the funeral.

On September 4, Serra's garments were cut into bits and distributed for scapularies.

On February 6 of the next year, 1785, Padre Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén was appointed *presidente* for Alta California. In a letter to him, Fray Sancho, Guardian of the College of San Fernando, wrote: “‘Fr. Lector Palóu since last year is in possession of the license to retire which Fr. Junípero has asked for him; and now an order has arrived from the Most Rev. Commissary-General of the Indies that we should notify said Father to come to the College as soon as possible. For this reason Your Reverence will direct him to execute the command . . . and to use the license which he has from me.’ This letter reached Fr. Lasuén in September, 1785” (*ibid.*).

As Palou had intended to remain in Alta California for the rest of his life, some good reason must have been behind Serra's request for a license for him to retire. It

may have been expediency, for it was important that some one versed in Alta California mission affairs and having them at heart should be at the capital; or it may have had to do with the publication of Padre Palou's writings, his *Noticias de la Nueva California* and his *Life of Serra*, written in great part during his last year at San Carlos—the *Vida* to us, but possessing in its own right a formidable title: *Relación Histórica de la Vida y Apostólicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra* (and a great deal more). The *Vida* was printed in 1787, but the *Noticias* did not appear until 1857. Palou is regarded by Bancroft as "the best original authority for the earliest period of mission history."

The last entry at San Carlos, under the hand of Palou, is dated September 7, 1785.

On February 21 of the next year, he reached the capital, having been detained by illness at Querétaro. He was not well when he arrived and was still in the infirmary at San Fernando, when, on July 1 of the same year, 1786, he was elected Guardian of the College.

Early in 1783, Don Felipe de Neve was appointed *comandante general* of the Provincias Internas, succeeding Don Teodoro de Croix, who became Viceroy of Perú. In September of the previous year, following his appointment as inspector general with the rank of brigadier, Neve had been further honored by being given the cross of the Order of San Carlos.

After the tragedy at the Gila-Colorado junction, somebody had to be the scapegoat, and it fell to the lot of the Governor of New Mexico, that upright, competent officer, Don Juan Bautista de Anza.

Croix asserted that Anza was responsible because his

reports had been so favorable in regard to the friendliness of the Yuma Indians that he had been entirely misled by them and had given orders that, otherwise, would never have been issued.

Anza's position was still more unenviable after the departure of Croix, for Comandante General Neve, who, it seems, did not know him, pursued him, for reasons known only to himself, with persistent, petty spite.

"It was the custom for Spanish officers to draw up an annual service sheet which at the same time gave an indication of their entire career. Neve ordered Anza to omit styling himself the discoverer of the route to Alta California, on the ground that that honor belonged to the Indian Tarabal! He also commanded him not to lay claim to the victory over Cuerno Verde, asserting that the credit really belonged to Azuela, Anza's subordinate in that fight! Furthermore, he quarreled with Anza over his handling of New Mexican affairs, and asked Gálvez for his removal, stating that he was incompetent. . . .

"Through all this misfortune Anza's conduct was exemplary. As a subordinate he was not in a position to resent Neve's insults. He met them, though, with a becoming dignity and clearness of explanation that would have convinced anyone who was not predisposed to an opposite view" (Chapman).

In November, 1784, Don Felipe de Neve died. By royal order of October 1, 1785, General Don Jacobo de Ugarte y Loyola became *comandante general* of the Provincias Internas. In the interim, José Antonio Rengel was in command, appointed by the Audiencia of Guadalajara.

The *comandancia* had been organized as independent of the viceroyalty in most matters, but with the accession, in 1785, of Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez, nephew to Don José, it was subordinated. After his death in November, 1786, there was a brief period of independence, but in

March, 1787, Don Manuel Antonio de Flores, vice admiral in the royal navy, became viceroy and the same authority was given him. Lines were not very clearly defined and "full powers" were handed back and forth as expedient. There were shiftings of authority and redivisions of the Provincias Internas. In 1787, they were split in twain: the East and the West, with Ugarte in command of the latter which included the Californias—none of which need be gone into further here.

Ugarte, who knew Anza of old, came openly to his defense, writing to Gálvez, in 1786, "that Neve's opinion of Anza's government of New Mexico had been founded on the incorrect reports of the latter's opponents and that Anza had in fact merited praise rather than removal. This was a courageous letter under the circumstances" (*ibid.*).

Anza, awaiting in New Mexico the arrival of his successor who had been appointed—although he, himself, had not been provided for in any way—"petitioned for the governorship of a province in the viceroyalty, where he might pass the remainder of his days in freedom from hardships. Ugarte warmly espoused this petition, and . . . Rengel . . . wrote across the document itself that he too endorsed it. Yet again, in 1787, Ugarte wrote to Gálvez . . . this time urging that he be made governor of Texas. . . . Anza did not become governor of Texas, and no record has come to light showing him in possession of any other post. He seems to have remained in New Mexico until 1788, when at length his successor arrived. Thereupon Anza disappears from view. Thus did one of Alta California's most intrepid heroes pass into undeserved obscurity" (*ibid.*).

The end of the trail!

This—to those who have known Juan Bautista de Anza in the pages of history as the brave soldier, the gallant officer, commended as the exception in his kindly, just treat-

ment of his men; who have followed Anza, the experienced frontiersman, breaking a way into Alta California, farseeing, everywhere in his relations with the Indians wisely safeguarding those who were to follow—even in outline, is a story of cruel injustice. Told at length, the participants in the shunting of the blame do not inspire admiration!

XXVII

In the Neve *reglamento*, governor and military inspector were recognized as one and the same person and were so, in fact, during the incumbency of the framer of the regulations; but when he became inspector general of the Provincias Internas and continued Soler, who had been left in command, as military inspector, Don Felipe muddled his own work and created an anomalous situation. Logically, Fages, the new governor, should, also, have been *comandante inspector* and Soler, *ayudante*—adjutant—as he had been prior to the departure of Governor Neve.

In a letter to Captain Roméu, dated December 21, 1782, Don Pedro says “the *reglamento* keeps me in a chaos of confusion since it supposes the government and inspection united, and as the latter has been separated I find myself very much embarrassed in my projects and measures, in order not to make them impertinent and cause discord with the *ayudante*’ ” (Bancroft, note).

Fages and Soler were friends but, do what they would to prevent, a quarrel was inevitable should their relative positions remain the same. The situation was unnatural and became so complicated that Fages was obliged to ask for instructions as to their respective duties.

The governor was in a very trying position: on the one side, Soler, who, he says, was “ ‘deadly at intermeddling’ ” (Richman), desirous for himself of the office held by Fages, and quite ready to note any laxness on the part of the governor in enforcing obedience to the letter of the new regulations; on the other, the *padres*, not understanding just what was happening to them (for the *reglamento* was not promulgated in Alta California until nearly the end of

1784), and holding him personally responsible for each affront.

Fages took the treatment accorded him by the friars very much to heart—that is evident—referring to it in his letters: in substance that, with Soler at his elbow, such concessions as he dared make were requited by insults.

Richman's résumé is interesting and is, in part, as follows: "Did he go half a league from San Carlos Presidio to greet Father Palou—he was rebuffed by scowls and taciturnity. Did he furnish the padre three attendants and three of his best horses, and direct in his honor a salute of two guns—Palou would not even break bread with him. Did he pay a visit to San Carlos Mission—Father Matías, in Palou's presence and by him abetted, stamped roundly his foot, and cried out upon him. Did he, at San Luis, ask from Father Caballer (Catalan like himself) an inventory, saying that inventories had been rendered at the other missions of the South—he was told to his beard that he would be believed when the documents were produced. . . . the padres, even in their letters, denied him the courtesy of the usual form of address,—*Muy Señor mio* (My very respected Sir), and *Beso á Vd. su mano* (I respectfully kiss your hand). At such disrespect, he ('not as Fages but as governor') stood fairly aghast. Because he obeyed orders, he was said . . . to be 'persecuting the *frailes*,' when, in truth, he had endured so to be dragooned by them that, looking within, he had been obliged to say to himself, 'I am governor, not Fages.' Distraught, however, though he was, . . . he was resolved to depart no jot from duty. So comporting himself he could not be put to blush, and would have his reward from conscience."

Departing "no jot from duty" may or may not, according to the date of the occurrence, account for the demonstration on the part of Padre Matías recounted above. On June 11, 1785, Governor Fages wrote Padre Matías Antonio Noriega, one of the friars at Mission San Carlos,

that the natives were accusing him of beating them with chains, which charges he had investigated and found to be true; and implored him in the name of humanity and the king to desist.

With no outside interests, no distractions from immediate surroundings, these little groups on the northwest coast of the Californias had leisure and opportunity to observe and criticize each other. Psychologically, conditions were malign.

The *padres* had their grievances; and, by 1785, the governor's had accumulated so that he had, or thought he had, enough to warrant an appeal to the viceroy. This memorial is dated September 26, in which he directly charges the friars with laxness in performing chaplain duty at the *presidios*; that the *patronato real* was disregarded by them; that they did not accept official prices for mission produce; and that they failed to ask permission before leaving the province.

This memorial was sent by the viceroy to the guardian at San Fernando. It was answered by Padre Palou, who said that chaplain duty at the *presidios* was voluntary—not obligatory; that, nevertheless, except at the Presidio of San Francisco, where there was no proper place to hold services and with the mission at Dolores near enough for the troops to attend them there, chaplain duty was performed even under difficulties, as at the Presidio of Santa Bárbara, to which place the friars went from San Buenaventura; at San Diego, he, himself, had gone regularly six miles from the mission to the *presidio*.

Among other things, he said that escorts for the friars had been withheld; that, as to the *patronato real*, it was not entirely understood by the governor; as to tariff prices, they should vary and should not be as low in times of scarcity as when there was an abundance; and that the *reglamento* had not been published until 1784.

In due course, the whole affair was referred to the *comandante general* of the Provincias Internas, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, who, in turn, asked information of the *padre presidente* of Alta California, Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén. Thus, it was back almost where it had started—except that it was on the other side of the fence.

This afforded an excellent opportunity, of which he took advantage, for Lasuén to air certain matters needing an airing but having nothing to do with the charges in the Fages memorial.

Finally, General Ugarte and the *Audiencia* were as “confused” over the assertions and contradictions as had been Don Teodoro de Croix over all the affairs of the Californias. The findings were that Government and Mission were to keep within their own jurisdictions and that harmony must prevail! But there were other findings (lest we forget): the missionaries were to be paid for chaplain duty at the Presidio of San Francisco and furnished with escorts for “indispensable journeys.”

The *reglamento*, with Captain, by brevet, Soler, as a necessary attachment, was an unenviable legacy from the framer to his successor. Nor were the two *pueblos*, San José and Los Angeles, desirable inheritances. As being premature, the *padres* had not approved of *pueblos* for Alta California; and their disapproval was justified by results.

The Law of the Indies strictly forbade the indiscriminate intermingling of Indians and whites in villages because demoralization of the Indians was the inevitable consequence, the “whites” being often lacking in morals of any kind—except bad.

Here—in these *pueblos*—the Law of the Indies was torn into shreds, for gentile Indians, both men and women, were employed in all sorts of ways. Not much real work was actually done by the *pobladores* themselves, the Indians

being ready and willing to do it for them for little or nothing. They were idle; gambling was the order of the day, and immorality prevailed. The teachings at the missions were shaken by the abominable behavior at the *pueblos* which, later, became veritable hotbeds of iniquity.

To improve conditions, *comisionados* were appointed. Ignacio Vallejo was given the office at San José but fell from grace. Governor Fages had been ordered to suppress licentiousness, and, in a letter from him, this *comisionado*, whose notoriously too intimate relations with the daughter of one González had been reported, came in for a raking. Fages wrote, in substance, that he felt the more keenly this dereliction on Vallejo's part because he had commissioned him "in the belief and confidence that he would suppress immorality instead of himself presenting so scandalous an example of it" (Hittell).

Vicente Félix was *comisionado* at Los Angeles. In 1787, Governor Fages found it necessary to issue a long list of instructions which were to "be publicly read in presence of the soldiers and all the inhabitants of the pueblo, so that each and all might have an opportunity of learning their respective duties and obligations" (*ibid.*).

These instructions were principally to enforce regulations already in effect, but Fages added a few of his own making: "One of these, to which he called particular attention, was an order to prevent what he called the pernicious familiarity that had theretofore been allowed the gentle Indians . . . that thenceforth when such Indians were employed in grinding meal or other domestic labor, even though they were women, they should be compelled to do it outside the houses; . . . and, if from distant rancherías, they should in effect be herded at night near the guard-house and under the eyes of the sentinel" (*ibid.*).

Other instructions to the *comandante* at Monterey, in reference to couriers, forbade them to leave the main road,

stop at any *ranchería*, dismount, or, under any pretext whatever, while on duty, to lay aside their arms.

"Another set of his instructions was directed against the use of *aguardiente* . . . at the same time calling, though doubtless in vain, upon all subordinates to enforce his orders" (*ibid.*).

Under date of March 9, 1785, orders had been received by Governor Fages from the *interino*, General Ugarte, to found Mission Santa Bárbara at once; and, in bringing the matter to the attention of Padre Lasuén, Fages stressed the point that all was in readiness for the founding and had been for some time. But the *padre presidente* made no gesture of acquiescence. Don Pedro suggested that two *padres*, Nobóa and Riobóo, were available. Lasuén thought not. This was not the first time the governor had found himself between two fires in the matter of the Santa Bárbara Channel missions.

However, when a letter, dated April 1 of the next year, 1786, was received by Padre Presidente Lasuén from Fray Guardian Sancho, stating that, by order of the viceroy, six missionaries for the Channel missions were to be sent, then—and not till then—mission machinery moved.

There were to be no innovations—Sancho cautioned—and, unless everything coincided exactly with the regular mission plan, Lasuén was to withhold the friars.

No innovations were proposed. That point had been gained. (For missions, there must be missionaries.) In Church versus State, the friars had scored!

With nothing now in the way, all went swiftly forward to a happy conclusion, and on December 4, 1786, after years of controversy—after political and ecclesiastical red tape had been many times tied, untied, and prettily retied into diplomatic bowknots—Mission Santa Bárbara was, at last, successfully established. Padre Presidente Lasuén

officiated. Fray Paterna and Fray Cristóbal Orámas, a newcomer, were the first missionaries. On the 16th, a high mass was sung in the presence of Governor Fages who had been unable to be present on the 4th, and the official founding was complete.

On December 8 of the following year, 1787, Mission de la Purísima Concepción, the third Channel mission (San Buenaventura having been the first) was established. Again, the *padre presidente* officiated. The first missionaries were Fray Vicente Fuster and Fray José Arroita, another newcomer.

To a certain extent, Fages was relieved of the incubus, Nicolas Soler, when, under date of February 12, 1786, the *comandante general* united the two offices and the governor became, also, *comandante inspector*, which was strictly according to the sense of the Neve *reglamento*. Toward the end of the year, Soler turned over the office and resumed his position as *ayudante*, but he still managed to give a great deal of trouble, and "ventured to disagree with his compadre to such an extent that on one occasion he was put under arrest at Monterey with orders to go on with his duties, but to enter the presidio always by the little door, and to pass back of the church to his office!" (Bancroft).

Soler succeeded, also, in making himself thoroughly ridiculous in a report called for from him, in 1787, at the same time as one from Fages, in which he, nevertheless, told the unvarnished truth when he wrote that he " 'had no head to present any project or circumstantial plan' " (*ibid.*, note).

He had not, indeed, but wandered on, presenting his conclusions lengthily in thirty-five articles. Some of his recommendations are astounding. In small part and in effect, he advised that Spaniards be granted land at the

missions, suggesting that the government had spent all the money on the Indians at the missions that could be afforded; that the Indians had been neophytes long enough and were fitted for civil life; that military escorts should be withdrawn from missions and *pueblos* — and much more equally edifying.

Soler's advice was not followed; such a calamity would seem to have been guarded against by Governor Fages in his comments upon the report, forwarded at the same time (*Comentarios sobre Informe del Capitan Soler, 8 de Nov. 1787. Ms.*), in part: "that the natives are kept in order as neophytes only by the unremitting efforts of the friars, and are as yet wholly unfit to become citizens; . . . that the introduction of Spanish settlers into the missions would interfere with the laws of the Indies providing that the mission lands are to belong to the natives eventually when they shall be fitted to profit by their possession" (Bancroft, note).

Presidio accounts required no knowledge of higher mathematics, yet not all the officers could keep them straight. *Habilitados* were supposed to be voted for by the soldiers, but this was not practical and, in reality, relative fitness was considered and the appointees were agreed upon by the governor and the inspector. But, in making these appointments, Fages and Soler found it difficult to agree. Soler had little confidence in anybody and was ever ready to charge irregularities. And, not connected in any way with dishonesty, deficits did often occur.

One poor soul, Rafael Pedro y Gil, came to San Diego in 1774, as storekeeper. Before the year was out, he asked to be relieved. Do what he would, his accounts would get loose and run away. In 1775, there was a deficit of three hundred and thirty-three *pesos*. Thereupon, he asked to be dismissed before he should be ruined. But, evidently, he was left to his fate, for in October, 1781, he went to San

Blas under arrest, the deficit at that time being nearly seven thousand *pesos*! Again, we hear of him at Etzatlan, Jalisco, and, again, he was in debt to the government.

There was some system of holding back the pay of these unfortunates. A speedier and more drastic method would have been less cruel. They seem to have been mortgaged, body and soul, to the government.

A case in point is that of Don José Ramón Lasso de la Vega. Not every one so called on the northwest coast was a *don* by birth. Lasso de la Vega was. Says Bancroft: "Lasso the *habilitado* was a stupid fellow, though neither dishonest nor dissipated, always in trouble with his accounts, and always recommended to the executive clemency. During his first brief term in 1781-2 he managed to leave a deficit of about \$800; and early in 1787 Captain Soler discovered a still more serious and inexcusable defalcation. His usual excuses of forgetfulness, stealing by soldiers and convicts, and the melting-away of sugar during transportation would no longer save him; he was suspended from office, placed under arrest, and obliged to live on twenty-five cents a day, the rest of his pay as *alférez* being reserved to make up the deficit in his accounts. This state of things continued for over four years, and then, the amount having been in great part repaid, he was dismissed from the service; but the king subsequently granted him retirement and half-pay." In a note in Bancroft, we find that Governor Fages, in writing to Arrillaga, says: "'Our poor Lasso has received his retirement with half-pay as *alférez*, as petitioned by you, for which may God reward you.'"

Sometimes, however, Soler's charges were groundless.

After the death, on July 13, 1785, of Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, *comandante* at the Presidio of San Francisco, there was some shifting about of officers. Lieutenant Diego González, utterly unfit, who had been under arrest at Monterey for insubordination, gambling,

and trading with the galleons, which was forbidden, was sent to San Francisco. In 1787, his unseemly conduct having continued despite warnings and rearrest, he was banished to the frontier by order of the governor. José Darío Argüello, company *alférez* at Santa Bárbara, was then promoted to the command.

Alférez Hermenegildo Sal followed González as *comandante* at Monterey, and was followed by Lieutenant José Francisco de Ortega, who had been rusticating in Baja California.

Ortega had always been a valuable officer and had been in command of the Presidio of Santa Bárbara from the time it was founded. He was charged by Captain Soler with incompetency and not understanding his own accounts; and, through Soler, alone, had been removed from office by the *comandante general* and ordered to Baja California—which was equivalent to demotion. He had been rescued by Fages and brought back, and was to have been given his old *presidio* but, a vacancy occurring at Monterey, went there. The reason there was a vacancy at Monterey was that Hermenegildo Sal had been charged by Soler with a serious deficit in his accounts and placed under arrest.

Sal's property was attached and, at first, two-thirds of his pay held back; but, later, he, too, was put upon an allowance of twenty-five cents a day. The charge was preferred against him in August, 1787, and was proven absolutely without foundation in fact, for, in place of a deficit of three thousand *pesos*, it was found that six hundred were due him—but it took Sal three years to clear his name of dishonor!

Nicolas Soler was no genius at figures—in straightening out Lasso de la Vega's accounts he had mixed them up still further—neither was he a friend to Sal. Suspecting Soler of an intrigue with his wife, Sal had threatened to kill him—yet it was Soler who had been placed under arrest to protect him from Sal. It is not likely that any of this

had been forgotten and Soler's position protected him while it afforded him the opportunity to get even with Sal.

Meantime, Governor Fages had asked for the removal of Captain Soler. On April 17, 1788, Soler demanded a court-martial and a full investigation. To put an end to the matter, the office of *ayudante* was abolished. The governor, himself, was to go, once in two years, to Loreto to inspect the troops.

Soler was summoned to Arispe, and, on August 30 of the same year, wrote to Governor Fages "announcing his departure . . . and referring to slurs cast upon his character" (Bancroft, note). He was appointed *comandante* at Tucson, dying shortly after. Fages alluded to his death in a letter dated February 25, 1790.

Says Bancroft: "Strangely enough after all his fault-finding and his constant search for defalcations on the part of others, he left California with a deficit of about \$7,000 in his own accounts; that is, he owed that amount to the presidios [and missions], and it is difficult to account for such a debt except on the theory that he took improper advantage of his official position. The debt had to be paid out of his half-pay after his death."

Again, amid the bitterness, there is found something sweet—an antidote for the venom in much of the foregoing—in a letter written "February, 1790, by Jose de Zuñiga, the *comandante* of San Diego, to his mother Doña Maria Barbara Martinez. Addressing her . . . as 'Estimably dear little mother and madam,' he complained that it had been days since he had heard from her or from Don Bonifacio; and in his anxiety he prayed God it was not on account of want of good health on their part: as for himself, he was strong and robust. He had the pleasure of informing her that in the course of the past year a beautiful church had been commenced at the presidio under his charge and an image in honor of the pure and immaculate concep-

tion provided for it; that he had been instrumental in accomplishing the work and had himself personally labored as a mason and as a carpenter and had painted the whole with his own hands; and he thanked God that she would thus see that her son, who had done things that were evil, was now zealous in doing things that were good. He went on to say that he sent her fifty dollars as a present for herself and his Señor father, and ten dollars to be expended in carmine, vermilion and other painting materials, which he required and which he desired should be forwarded to him. He further requested if she had any comedies to spare, notwithstanding they might be old ones, that she would send them; for, though he had but little time to read, yet they would serve to divert him in those solitudes; . . . And in conclusion, after asking for some garden and flower seeds, . . . he . . . signed himself her most affectionate son, who 'S.P.B. [sus pies beso]—kisses her feet' " (Hittell).

XXVIII

While the question of the Channel missions hung in the balance of "to be or not to be"; while the accounts of *habilitados* were being investigated with energy if not with accuracy; while isolation and monotony reaped abundant harvests in petty bickerings and gossip at the *presidios*, and idleness and ignorance harvests of debauchery at the *pueblos*, other California affairs—though they moved at a snail's pace—did not remain at a standstill.

Arriving at Monterey on one of the vessels sailing from San Blas, in June, 1786, was Don Vicente Basadre y Vega, armed with credentials, commissioned to investigate the possibilities of the supply of otter and seal skins and to organize their collection on a systematic basis under government auspices. Letters on the subject came not only to Governor Fages but to Padre Presidente de Lasuén, for the missionaries were to be given an opportunity to take an active part in the collection and distribution of these "temporalities."

On August 29, Governor Fages issued a proclamation with regulations governing the collection of skins: The missionaries were to receive the skins from the Indians and deliver them to Basadre during his stay, at tariff prices ranging from a minimum of two *pesos* four *reales* to ten *pesos*, according to size and color. The government was to be sole purchaser. All persons were prohibited from trading in furs with the Indians. Neophytes having furs in their possession were to deliver them up to the *padres*. After the departure of the commissioner, skins received at the missions would be forwarded through the *comandantes*

of the *presidios*. Furs finding their way to San Blas through other than official channels would be confiscated.

The first officially announced and properly accredited foreign visitor to Monterey was Jean François de Galaup, Comte de la Pérouse, coming on board the frigate *La Boussole*, in command of an expedition of two vessels, the second, *L'Astrolabe*, being commanded by M. de Langle. The expedition, despatched by the French government for scientific research, with a full corps of specialists, on a voyage around the world, particularly for the discovery of the northwest passage and the investigation of the fur trade in North America, sailed from Brest, France, in 1785.

When the vessels were sighted off the coast on September 14, 1786, the transports *Princesa*—Captain Estévan Martínez—and *Favorita*—Captain José Tobar—were in port. Their boats were sent to pilot the visitors into the bay. As a salute of seven guns boomed from the fort (so far the official welcome was perfection), the vessels came to anchor, somewhat to the discomfort of those on board, amidst a school of vigorously spouting whales,—an unusual feature not on the program!

The expedition had reached the Pacific by way of Cape Horn, having gone as far as the Aleutian Islands before sailing down the coast to Monterey.

The little capital took on an unknown gayety; but, for the next ten days, there was a very great deal doing besides wining and dining. Don Pedro Fages not only carried out orders, but, La Pérouse says, “he put into their execution a graciousness and air of interest which merit from us the liveliest acknowledgment. He did not confine himself to obliging words Vegetables, milk, poultry, all the garrison’s labor in helping us to wood and water were free; and cattle, sheep, and grain were priced at so low a figure that it was evident an account was furnished only because we had rigorously insisted on it. M. Fages joined to his

generosity the most gentlemanly demeanor; his house was ours, and we might dispose of all his servants' " (Bancroft).

During their short stay, every assistance was given the scientists in their researches; and all, M. de la Pérouse, M. de Langle, M. Rollin (the chief surgeon), were busily engaged in making up reports along their respective lines. Information of all kinds was furnished them. They wrote exhaustively, with accuracy and insight,—but the *pueblos* seem to have been neglected! Bancroft says that La Pérouse "evidently did not hear of San José and Angeles, for he states that there were absolutely no Spanish inhabitants but the soldiers." Perhaps he was not told of them. There is wisdom in discreet reticence and, verily, the two *pueblos* were nothing to boast of to strangers!

La Pérouse was greatly impressed with the potentialities of the country, but predicted a slow development under Spanish control, and thought that the best outlook in the near future, commercially, was for trade in peltries, which, if properly managed, "might prove to the Spaniards more profitable than the richest gold-mine in Mexico. Fages told him he could furnish 20,000 skins each year, or by means of new establishments north of San Francisco many more" (*ibid.*). He says: "We cannot fail to be astonished that the Spaniards, having so close and frequent intercourse with China through Manila, should have been ignorant until now of the value of this precious fur. Before this year, an otter-skin was worth no more than two rabbit-skins; the Spaniards did not suspect their value . . ." (*ibid.*, note).

During the stay of the expedition, Don Vicente Basadre was at Monterey. La Pérouse mentions him as "a young man of intelligence and merit, who is to depart soon for China for the purpose of making there a treaty of commerce in otter-skins" (*ibid.*).

An invitation to dine at San Carlos, with the opportunity to study the mission system, was, he says, "accepted with

eagerness.' " He was charmed with the personality of Padre Presidente de Lasuén. He writes of the missionaries as men of very superior character. He was impressed by their exemplary lives in such marked contrast to those led by the " 'monks of Chili,' " of whom he had written, whose " 'irregularity' " had so scandalized him. To him, these men, austere, charitable, religious,—needing only " 'a little more philosophy,' "—were " 'truly apostolic.' "

He did not, however, approve of the mission system; and thought that the efforts of the friars would be wasted, that the system was not such as to dispel ignorance, nor did it seem possible that it would lead to the civilization desired by the government. Too much stress was laid upon the hereafter to the exclusion of the present: "The neophyte was too much a child, too much a slave, too little a man"; and he "saw in the *tout ensemble* of the Franciscan establishments an unhappy resemblance to the slave plantations of Santo Domingo" (*ibid.*).

The toil expended on the grinding of corn by the neophyte women amazed him, and a hand mill that would do the work of a hundred was presented to Mission San Carlos. Whether the mill was ever used is another matter and open to conjecture.

Writing of the natives generally, he says: " 'These Indians are small, feeble, and do not show the love of independence which characterizes the northern nations, of which they have neither the arts nor the industry . . . ' " (*ibid.*, note).

The potato had been known in Spain for more than two hundred years, and was referred to in Pedro Cieca's *Crónica de Perú*, published in Seville in 1553, and in other books of the time, as the "*batata*" or "*papa*." It is supposed to have been found by the Spaniards in the neighborhood of Quito, where it was used as a food at the time of the conquest of Perú. Humboldt is authority for the

statement that it did not grow wild in Mexico. Nevertheless, it is strange that Alta California should have been indebted to the Comte de la Pérouse for its introduction. He had brought some from Perú, which he duly presented, as he felt certain they would grow and be a welcome addition to the products of the province.

On the 24th of September, the expedition sailed away. In December of the following year, 1787, M. de Langle and most of his men were killed by the natives at Mauna, one of the Samoan Islands. Journals and two letters, the last dated February 7, 1788, to the Ministry of Marine, reached France from Botany Bay, but nothing was ever heard of the expedition after that. Wreckage found many years later on the reefs of Vanikoro, an island north of the New Hebrides, was supposed to have been that of *La Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*.

Because of news brought by the Pérouse expedition of Russian occupation as far south as 56°, 30', a royal order of 1780, discontinuing voyages to the far northwest, was disregarded. A detailed report was made to Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez, of what he had been told by La Pérouse himself, by Captain Martínez, of the *Princesa*, who offered his services for further investigation.

By order of Viceroy Manuel Antonio de Flores, who succeeded Gálvez, an expedition was sent north on March 8, 1788, under command of Martínez on the *Princesa*, with the *San Carlos* as consort, commanded by Gonzalo López de Haro.

Russians were found not only at Kadiak but on Unalaska, and were heard of elsewhere. On the way south, the *Princesa* put in at Monterey but the *San Carlos* sailed straight on to San Blas, arriving on October 22.

Martínez had a great deal to report, upon his return, including a conversation with the Russian factor at Kadiak,

who told him that his government had been informed as to the activities of the English in that part of the world; and, as Russia had prior rights, four frigates were to be sent from Siberia some time during the coming year, to assert them.

Martínez and López de Haro were sent back the following year in command of the same vessels.

Trade in furs with China was now no new thing—the outcome of the venture made by the Cook expedition of 1778-9. When the startlingly profitable results were published in 1784, a world-wide flurry followed in the desire to go and do likewise. In one way or another, European countries having interests in the Pacific were represented in the scramble, as was North America—the United States into the bargain, by the so-called “Boston ships.” The Russians were actively engaged in the trade, from the Aleutian Islands. The English had been soon upon the scene, and kept up a regular commerce between Nootka and Canton. It was surmised that England had an eye upon Nootka for permanent occupation.

The great opportunity, however, was Spain's. But her attempts toward utilizing it were so feeble and so futile that the gold-producing otter was filched from beneath her almost nonresisting hand. Profits in furs were enormous but, to Spain and the Spaniards, so trifling, relatively, as to seem, through this perspective, negligible quantities.

Nootka was becoming a rendezvous for vessels engaged in the fur trade. In 1788, the first of the “Boston ships” arrived: the *Lady Washington* and the *Columbia*; and, on May 5 of the next year, 1789, when the *Princesa* dropped anchor in Nootka Sound, the *Columbia* was there. Also, and far more important, as it happened, were the *Iphigenia*, flying the colors of Portugal, her consort, the *Northwest America*, and the *Argonaut*—all British.

Captain Martínez had been instructed to occupy Nootka and to build fortifications—but here was something unexpected, and he turned his attention to the three vessels. Between the day of arrival and July 14, he had seized them all, with everything and everybody on board!

This was the beginning of the "Nootka affair": the cause of a long controversy and very nearly the cause of war between England and Spain.

When Captain Estévan José Martínez reached San Blas, he was relieved of his command.

The "Boston ships" at Nootka, in 1788 and 1789, had been the subject of an official communication received by Fages and passed on in a letter, dated May 13, 1789, marked *reservada*—confidential—to Comandante José Darío Argüello of the Presidio of San Francisco, in which he was instructed: "'Should there arrive at the port of San Francisco a ship named *Columbia*, which they say belongs to General Washington of the American states, and which under the command of John Kendrick sailed from Boston in September 1787 . . . you will take measures to secure this vessel and all the people on board, with discretion, tact, cleverness, and caution, doing the same with a small craft which she has with her as a tender . . .'" (Bancroft).

This matter had disposed of itself before the order was received. The *Columbia* went on around the world, taking on a load of tea in China, and was back at Boston in 1790, being the first ship to circumnavigate the globe under the American flag.

Great distances, lack of facility for transportation, and the circuitous course of documents were the cause of much delay but were not alone responsible. There was another factor in government affairs: the Spanish method of archiving everything as it passed along from official to official,

each in turn filing the document received, making out an entirely new paper, adding his quota where required and then transmitting it. As these documents were lengthy, often badly written, and added to at each way station, it was a slow process.

The following, an unimportant and rather absurd incident, illustrates: Some time in the latter part of June, 1776, when the settlers who had been conducted to Alta California by Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza were en route to San Francisco, a herd of elks as large as oxen was observed, whose antlers spread far and wide, sixteen *palmos*—twelve feet—from tip to tip. A report of the wonderful animals reached Spain, and the king requested that specimens be secured for his royal park. The viceroy was informed of his desire through the usual channels, but, meantime, jurisdiction had been transferred to the *comandancia*. The royal request was, therefore, sent to the *comandante general*, Don Teodoro de Croix, who forwarded it to Governor Neve; but before it was received, Don Felipe de Neve was no longer the governor. The order was then transmitted to Governor Fages, together with a letter from Neve, charging him to attend to it, and "at the same time ordering Jose Joaquin Moraga, *comandante* of the presidio of San Francisco, to go out and catch the elks" (Hittell), six years and more after they had been seen.

On June 17, 1787, Don José de Gálvez died at Aranjúez, Spain. According to Bustamante: "His death is supposed to have been due to apoplexy, but in those days that might have been either poison or the *garrote* (strangulation). However this may be, Gálvez died leaving many enemies Nevertheless he was a great minister" He must, indeed, have been. His dazzling career after his return to Spain bears out the statement.

Honors came in rapid succession—enemies followed as the night the day. It is interesting—all the more so—in view of his reported insanity while in Sonora, of which we are cognizant,—effects and after-effects of a protracted, recurrent malignant fever of the country.

Soon after his arrival, he took up his work in the Council of the Indies, and that year was created “Caballero Gran Cruz of the Real y Distinguido Orden de Carlos III.”

The next year, he made “inspections of the Archivo de Indias and of the Archivo General de Simancas.” On January 26, 1774, he was appointed to a membership in the *Junta General de Comercio, Moneda, y Minas*, serving at the same time, without pay, as superintendent of the *regalía de corte*. In 1775, Don Julián de Arriaga died, and, in 1776, Gálvez became *Ministro General de las Indias*; and, less than a month after, was made governor *pro tempore* of the Council of the Indies, to serve in sessions of the Council or of the Chamber, and to vote therein, should the governor, the Duke of Alva, not be able to attend, but when he was present Gálvez sat by his side. In 1777, upon the reorganization of the Council, he was appointed governor of the first chamber of the three: the *sala de gobierno de Nueva España*; and, in 1780, he “was made a member of the Consejo de Estado.” In 1785, a title of Castile was conferred upon him when he was honored by being created Marqués de Sonora. He also held other positions of honor, one being that of perpetual *regidor* of the city of Málaga.

The glamour of the court, the distractions of high office, and the heart-hardening effect of power, combined, did not cause this man of a hundred energies to forget the little town of Macharaviaya—the birthplace of the erstwhile shepherd lad. The education of the village children was looked after, he and his brother coöperating in building schools; and the young men were given preference in the royal service in America. That there might be occupation

for all, a manufactory for playing cards for export to America was established in 1776, remaining for many years a monopoly.

The human side of José de Gálvez made him carry with him, in his ascent to greatness, brothers, nephews, and other relatives—nepotism, if you like, but not unusual, and practiced by even the Pope of Rome. The most successful was his nephew, Bernardo, son of Matías, his elder brother; and both father and son were viceroys of New Spain. In 1783, Bernardo was created Conde de Gálvez. His brothers—Miguel, as ambassador to Prussia, and Antonio, as *mariscal de campo* in the royal army—served the king with distinction. (Drawn, and where quoted, from Priestley.)

In 1788, on December 14, Carlos III, King of Spain, died at Madrid, and was succeeded by his son, Carlos IV.

Don Manuel Antonio de Flores, who had resigned because of ill health, was followed as viceroy, in October, 1789, by Don Juan Vicente Güémes, Pacheco de Padilla, Horcasitas y Aguayo, Conde de Revilla Gigedo.

In 1790, Captain Francisco Elisa, on the *Princesa*, with the *San Carlos*, commanded by Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo, and the *Princess Royal*—a captured sloop—under Lieutenant Quimper, sailed under orders to establish a permanent post on Nootka, at Friendly Cove. This was established and maintained, supply transports usually going direct to Nootka and stopping at Monterey on the return voyage. Fidalgo spent some months surveying the coast and visiting Russian settlements, while Quimper made an extended exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The underlying cause for all this exploration was still the search for the Strait of Anián, upon which so much depended for Spain.

In July, 1789, under orders from the king, two vessels—

royal corvettes—with the double names usual among vessels of the Spanish navy, sailed from Cádiz, Spain, on a voyage around the world for scientific research and exploration, but, primarily, to find the Strait of Anián. The expedition was commanded by Alejandro Malaspina, an Italian, on board the *Descubierta* or *Santa Justa*; and the consort, the *Atrevida* or *Santa Rufina*, by José de Bustamante y Guerra. Of the long list of scientists and officers serving in one or another capacity, most, but not all, were Spaniards.

Explorations were made on both coasts of South America and on up from Panamá to Acapulco, from which port the voyage was continued to latitude 60°. Returning down the North American coast, scientific investigations were carried on and surveys made.

On September 13, 1791, the two corvettes cast anchor in Monterey Bay. Upon arrival, a gunner, originally from Boston, who had shipped from Cádiz, whose name is not certainly known to have been John Groem, was brought ashore to be buried—the first American landing in Alta California.

At San Carlos, the Indians were put to work collecting specimens for the scientists, resulting, for the mission, in a substantial farewell donation from the expedition, which proceeded on its way on September 25.

After the long voyage out from Spain, the time consumed and the expense incurred, the scientific work done and the human energy lavished upon it, most of what had been accomplished seems to have been wasted, for the reports of the expedition were never published, and but brief notice is given it in the records. And, for irregularities of some kind, Malaspina was imprisoned.

According to the *Neve reglamento*, back of the coast missions a second, or inner, chain of missions was to be

established, about equidistant between those forming the outer line.

A short time after the accession of the Conde de Revilla Gigedo to the viceroyalty of New Spain, he wrote to Fray Matías de Noriega (who had been six years at the Alta California missions), the superior *ad interim* at San Fernando, following the death of the guardian, Fray Francisco Palou, saying that in accordance with the report of September 22, received by him, he had " 'resolved that two missions should be established in New California, one in the valley called Soledad close to the Rio de Monterey, between the mission of San Antonio and that of San Carlos, and the other between the missions San Carlos and Santa Clara, about twenty-five leagues distant from the former on the spot called Santa Cruz.' " He asks the guardian to name four friars and to let them set out promptly, in order to be in time for the first ship sailing to Monterey; and also states that all necessary orders have already been issued. He says: "I hope . . . that on your part you will procure the discovery of suitable localities between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel and San Buenaventura, in order to fill up those gaps with other intermediate missions . . . ' " (Engelhardt).

This news reached Monterey on August 2, 1790, and four friars arrived. Agricultural implements came and other things, but no church goods. Experience had taught the Franciscans that nothing material was to be taken on faith—these church furnishings might or might not arrive—and the viceroy was duly informed of the oversight.

Under date of January 20, 1791, instructions to proceed were received from the viceroy: to borrow from the other missions; and that orders would be given at once in regard to church goods, which would be forthcoming. The call issued by the *padre presidente* on the missions already established to supply those about to be—an old custom—is dated July 22, 1791. Nearly a year had been lost.

On the 28th of August, 1791, Padre Lasuén founded Mission Santa Cruz, detailing Padres Isidro Alonso Salazar and Baldomero López as the first missionaries. And on October 9 of the same year, Mission Nuestra Señora Dolorosísima Soledad was founded, Padres Diego García and Mariano Rubí being detailed there.

On May 26 of the year before, Padre Presidente de Lasuén had received documentary authority to administer confirmation. This document had been started on its long journey more than five years before, on May 4, 1785. On July 13, 1790, the final papers (permission from the Bishop of Sonora) arrived, and out of the ten years allowed by the concession, less than five remained! This is another striking example of Spanish circumlocution.

XXIX

Alta California had a warm place in the heart of Don Pedro Fages, the hot-headed Catalan, frank of speech and incapable of petty spite. It is possible that he had hoped to remain there at the expiration of his military service, for, a short distance out from Monterey, he had planted his vine and fig tree. But circumstances were strongly against his remaining: worry, bitter controversies, domestic unhappiness; long years of strenuous frontier service, hardships—weariness of mind and body—told a tale, at last, in broken health for him. Constant urgings to leave the country did the rest, and, in the latter part of 1789, he asked to be relieved with leave to visit Spain. This was granted on May 16 of the next year, 1790, with pay for one year advanced that he might, while in Spain, have “the wherewith for his expenses.” He was ordered to report in Mexico.

Don José Antonio de Roméu, who had served with him in the Colorado campaign, his warm personal friend, was named as his successor. And, in a letter, dated September 14, 1790, to Roméu, expressing his pleasure at his appointment, Fages says: “‘You will find in this casa real, which is sufficiently capacious, the necessary furniture; . . . and near by a garden which I have made at my own expense, from which you will have fine vegetables all the year, and will enjoy the fruits of the trees which I have planted,’” speaking also of “‘a sufficient stock of goats and sheep which I have raised’” (Bancroft, note). Later, he makes a present to Roméu of his beloved orchard, his six hundred

fruit trees which he has attended to since 1783, his shrubs and grapevines.

According to orders, he was to turn over the office at Loreto either personally or through the lieutenant governor, José Joaquín de Arrillaga. The latter course was adopted.

With his orders to Arrillaga, February 26, 1791, Governor Fages despatched the customary instructions to his successor and such information as might be useful to him. Most of the orders to which he refers are already familiar, as is, also, much of the information imparted. But, in alluding to the great increase in mission live stock, he adds that the neophytes are becoming too skillful as *vaqueros* and acquiring an "‘Apache insolence.’" One of the reasons for not allowing bales of goods brought by the supply transports to be opened until after the departure of the vessels is, he says, to prevent the bartering with the sailors of necessary for unnecessary articles. He warns him that trading with the galleons is strictly prohibited and says that while the friars have always wanted to buy, permission has never been given.

(Nevertheless, there was a great deal of trading with the galleons *sub rosa*.)

In a letter to Roméu, of May 28 of the same year, he writes of constant friction with the Franciscans, saying that they insist on being independent, each in his own mission; but that the Dominicans in Baja California have given him no trouble, as Padre Presidente Gómez is disposed to maintain harmonious relations. He frankly expresses his opinion in regard to those with whom Roméu will soon come into personal contact, speaking highly of Lieutenant Governor Arrillaga; Lieutenant Zúñiga—an officer he held in especial esteem; of José Darío Argüello, *comandante* at San Francisco; deems Felipe de Goycochea given to carelessness, and says nothing at all of Ortega. He states that

there is not a sergeant suitable for the position of *habilitado*, but that "Vargas is faithful and can write."

Don José Antonio de Roméu, born at Valencia, Spain, was appointed *gobernador propietario* by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo. He was, at that time, major of the España Dragoons, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He had served in the Indian wars in Sonora, and in the Colorado campaign against the Yumas after the massacre.

When he and his family embarked for Loreto, he was not well, and when they arrived, on March 17, he was a very sick man.

On April 16, 1791, the formal transfer was made by Arrillaga, representing Fages, and Roméu became Governor of the Californias.

His orders were to make the journey to the capital a tour of inspection and, because of his ability in untangling such complications, he was to give particular attention to presidial accounts, which had reached a state of confusion. These orders were never fully carried out, for on the long journey from Loreto to Monterey, courage was not able to do away with serious illness, and Governor Roméu was seriously ill, passing sleepless nights and suffering endlessly with pains in the chest. What must be done officially was done, but inspections of *presidio* accounts were perfunctory.

The governor's party arrived at San Diego in August, remaining ten days or more.

Señora de Fages, Pedrito, and another child—perhaps two children—born in California, had long since gone to Mexico, but Don Pedro stayed on at Monterey. While awaiting the arrival of the new governor, Colonel Fages, as he was now called, was putting everything in order for his friend, making improvements and building a new church.

To the historian, Fages is a high light in the picture; and, as Bancroft truly says, one parts "with the honest

Catalan . . . reluctantly." He says he was "brave, a skilful hunter and dashing horseman Of fair education and executive abilities, hot-tempered and inclined to storm over trifles, . . . he was withal kind-hearted He was thoroughly devoted to the royal service and attended with rare conscientiousness to every petty detail of his official duty; yet his house, his horse, and above all his garden were hardly second in importance to his office, his province, and his nation." That is a fine exposition of what the historian finds in the character of Fages, and very just.

In comparing him to Neve, Bancroft says: "He possessed less breadth of mind, less culture, and especially less dignity of manner and character than Felipe de Neve, but he was by no means less honest and patriotic."

Richman, in writing of the early governors and *comandantes*, cuts to the bone in his estimate of the two. He says: "Neve and Fages remain, each a man of character, but, strange to say, only one (Fages) a man of personality. Neve, indeed, possessed so much character, was so imperturbable, kept so well his temper, wrought with an inexorability so final, as to be personally of scant account. Neve was the *Reglamento* and the *Reglamento* was Neve—little besides. Among early California rulers, therefore, it is upon Fages that personally the emphasis falls"

Neve was out of place on the far-away northwest coast of the Californias, in the breadth and vastness of the great outdoors. He was not big enough for his surroundings: there was a certain smugness in his capability. He should have been behind a desk, in an office with the windows shut—a bureaucrat. There is something desiccated about Neve!

Fages is very human, the hunter, the horseman, the soldier; and, even in the dusty pages of history, all alive.

Governor Roméu reached the capital on the 13th of October, 1791.

Colonel Fages was still there but shortly after took his departure. We hear of him in Mexico in 1793, as making a report on the *presidio* buildings at Monterey, and in 1794 he was still residing at the capital.

His illness continuing, Governor Roméu was able to attend to only the most pressing matters connected with his office.

On December 1, the royal confirmation of his appointment arrived.

In the spring of 1792, the governor's condition grew worse. It became apparent that he could not recover, and on April 5, the surgeon, Pablo Soler, at the request of the *comandante*, made a written statement to that effect. Thereupon, Argüello called a *junta* to consider what, in the event of the death of the governor, would be the proper procedure, at which were present Comandantes Ortega, Goycochea, and Sal. It was decided that, in such event, the lieutenant governor, Captain José Joaquín de Arrillaga, would become, according to regulations, governor *ad interim*—*gobernador interino*; that, temporarily, the provincial archives should be kept by the *junta*; and that, in view of the critical condition of the governor, the lieutenant governor was to be notified at once; Goycochea and Sal were to return to their *presidios*, but Ortega was to remain at the capital and upon the death of the governor was to proceed to Loreto. Despatches to Arrillaga were forwarded on the same day, April 5.

On the 9th, after receiving the last sacrament, Governor Roméu died, and on the next day was interred at San Carlos. In October, Señora Doña Josefa de Sandoval de Roméu and her daughters returned to Mexico.

Arrillaga received the news of the death of Governor Roméu on May 3. On the 4th, he wrote the viceroy, announcing his succession, and on the 7th he wrote to the

officers in Alta California. Official recognition of him as temporary governor by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, with instructions to continue as such until a successor could be appointed, is dated July 8. As *interino*, he had intended to remain at Loreto, but on September 28 he was ordered to the capital, not, however, arriving at Monterey until early in July of the next year, 1793.

“For the selection of missionaries to unbelieving nations St. Francis gave this regulation: ‘Let the brethren, who by divine inspiration desire to go among the Saracens or other infidels, ask leave therefor from their ministers-provincial; but the ministers must give permission to go to none except to those whom they see fitted to be sent’ ” (Engelhardt).

Usually, this was carried out very carefully, but occasionally there was a slip somewhere—and the College of San Fernando was the victim of one of these, when the two friars Bartolomé Gilí and Mariano Rubí arrived in 1788.

Nothing approaching the state of affairs brought about by their arrival had ever had to be met. All efforts toward the redemption of these “unworthy friars” were unavailing, and amazement reigned within the walls!

While, no doubt, mortifying to expose the shortcomings of members of their brotherhood to government officials, yet the friars in question must, if possible, be returned whence they had come. With this in view, the viceroy, Don Manuel Antonio Flores, was appealed to; they were reprimanded and threatened with deportation—but no real help came.

They, themselves, petitioned to be sent to the Alta California missions, and in October, 1790, the new viceroy, the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, so ordered. This was with the approval of the *discretos* of the college, and was sanctioned by Padre Fray Matías de Noriega, who was filling out

the unexpired term of Padre Palou, deceased, whose consciences were soothed with the hope that with change of scene there would come a change of behavior; and thus these two scapegraces were deposited in Alta California, and—it may have been a part of his “earthly cross”—inflicted upon Padre Presidente de Lasuén.

Rubí arrived in 1790 and Gilí the next year. At the beginning of 1793, Padre Lasuén was obliged to report them both as ill and demanding to be retired to their college.

Anticipating but wishing to avoid unnecessary delay, Lasuén, equal to the occasion, presented their application to the *comandante* of Monterey, Don José Darío Argüello, together with the certificate of the surgeon, Don Pablo Soler, as to the nature of Rubí's disease. Argüello granted the request as to him, and shortly afterward he was on his way to Mexico. Left behind, Gilí became very troublesome, and in the fall of the same year, Lasuén reported to Arrillaga that he and Surgeon Soler agreed in finding the friar unfit for service at the missions.

In May, 1794, Pángua wrote to Lasuén that the viceroy had consented to Gilí being returned to Mexico and asked Lasuén to forward certain information, already requested, in regard to the two friars, “‘for the object is the honor of the College and the expulsion of the mangy sheep’” (Engelhardt), to which Lasuén replied that it had all been forwarded and that he had nothing to add.

In July, 1794, the viceroy's permit arrived and Gilí departed on the *Concepción*, acting as chaplain. He never arrived at the College of San Fernando; but the guardian received a letter from him, written at Acapulco, in which he says that he is compelled by the captain of the ship to go on to the Philippines—and that is the last heard of Bartolomé Gilí!

In the spring of 1794, Rubí wished to be permitted to go to Tampico to the mission there and was reported by

Pángua as having recovered his health, but this time the viceroy did not give the desired permission and Rubí was ordered to remain where he was.

To the layman, reading between the lines, the sending of these "unworthy friars" to Mexico, the utter inability of the college to have them returned to Spain, their being sent to Alta California, Gilí being taken to the Philippines and Rubí forced to remain in Mexico, point to the possibility that the two were "black sheep" from families possessing much political influence.

At all events, they were the only ones out of a long list—one hundred and thirty-two—who tarnished the fair name of the Franciscan order in California.

XXX

On one of the vessels despatched under various orders to the northwest coast, in the spring of 1792, by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, the *Santa Gertrudis*, commanded by Alonso de Torres, sailing on March 1 from San Blas, was Don Juan de la Bodega y Cuadra, Spanish commissioner, en route to meet the British commissioner, Captain George Vancouver, to discuss and determine certain points still pending in the Nootka matter.

On March 8, the two schooners, the *Sutil*, commanded by Lieutenant Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, and the *Mexicana*, commanded by Lieutenant Cayetano Valdés, under orders to explore the Strait of Juan de Fuca, sailed from Acapulco. Some time in the middle of the month, the *Activa*, also a schooner—Captain Salvador Menéndez Valdés—got under way from San Blas and followed the *Santa Gertrudis* to Nootka. On the 20th, the frigate *Aranzazu*—Captain Jacinto Caamaño—which was to search for the Río de los Reyes, and, on the 23d, the *Princesa*, under Fidalgo, who was to found a regular post at Nuñez Gaona on Fuca Strait, departed—both from San Blas.

Bodega arrived at Nootka at the end of April, and, fully instructed, proceeded to further familiarize himself with the situation in question. Vancouver, on the sloop *Discovery*, carrying twenty guns and one hundred men, with the *Chatham*, carrying ten guns and forty-five men, as consort, under command of Lieutenant William R. Broughton, crossed from the Sandwich Islands, sailing on March

18, and from a point a little below Cape Mendocino, passed on April 19, made explorations northward.

On the 29th, a vessel standing in shore was sighted. This was an event, as none had been seen in eight months. American colors were hoisted and a gun was fired to leeward. They spoke her and found her to be the *Columbia*, commanded by Robert Gray, hailing from Boston, but absent from that port nineteen months.

Nootka was not reached until toward the end of August. Upon approaching the entrance to the port, the *Discovery* was visited by one of the Spanish officers, accompanied by a pilot who conducted "the vessel to anchorage in Friendly cove, where," says Vancouver in *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, under date of Tuesday, the 28th, "we found riding his Catholic Majesty's brig the Active, bearing the broad pendant of Senr. Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commandant of the marine establishment of St. Blas and California."

The *Chatham* was already in port, as was the *Dædalus*, storeship of the expedition, which had arrived from England.

Salutes were fired and returned. Vancouver's visit of one day was returned the next by Bodega, who breakfasted with the English commissioner. Then, Vancouver says, "As many officers as could be spared from the vessels with myself dined with Senr. Quadra, and were gratified with a repast we had lately been little accustomed to, or had the most distant idea of meeting with at this place. A dinner of five courses . . . was served with great elegance; a royal salute was fired on drinking health to the sovereigns of England and Spain" Elsewhere, he says he dined with him "almost every day."

Official correspondence was entered upon and *pourparlers* were had, formal and informal, which last Vancouver preferred, setting down, under date of September 12, that in a

little after-dinner talk, there had been "a prospect of coming to so perfect an explanation as to render any further epistolary altercation totally unnecessary."

But *pourparlers*, formal and informal, likewise "epistolary altercation," did not bring about a settlement. For, while by the terms of a treaty signed in 1790 Spain was to restore all the lands of which England had been dispossessed, in the discussions the Spanish commissioner maintained that England had been dispossessed of none; and suggested that a boundary line be established between British and Spanish possessions at Fuca Strait, in which case Spain would relinquish Nootka.

The British commissioner did not concede the point and would agree to nothing short of unconditional surrender of Nootka—and there the matter stood.

It was agreed that the question involved, having gone beyond those upon which they had been empowered to act, must be presented to their respective governments for a decision.

The time for leaving Nootka was drawing near. Some of the Spanish vessel had sailed. On the 21st, a farewell dinner was given on board the *Discovery*, and on the 22d Bodega departed.

The English ships, not then ready for sea, were put in condition and, on October 13, all three, together, began the voyage southward.

The *Sutil* and *Mexicana* were the *avant couriers*, putting in at Monterey on September 22.

On October 9, the *Activa*, bringing Bodega y Cuadra and flying his pennant, came into port, and, later in the month, the *Aranzazu* arrived.

When the news of Bodega's arrival reached San Francisco, the *Saturnina*, which had brought up despatches from the viceroy for him and was awaiting his coming, joined the other vessels at anchor in Monterey Bay; and from

there despatches were forwarded, on the *Horcasitas*, to Fidalgo who had been left in charge at Nootka.

On November 14, the *Discovery* was sighted from the lookout station at "The Heads" and forthwith a man on horseback was sent to the Presidio of San Francisco to announce the approach of the British commissioner.

The vessel entered the harbor at dusk. As the fort was passed, a salute was fired and returned, and anchor was dropped in Yerba Buena Cove.

The *Discovery* was the first vessel other than Spanish to enter the harbor of San Francisco. It seems unlikely that, at this late day, even a wraith of the *Golden Hind* will appear to dispute this statement.

Next day the *comandante*, Don Hermenegildo Sal, made his *visite de cérémonie*.

Bodega y Cuadra, at Monterey, was notified of the arrival; and Sal was instructed to furnish such supplies as might be needed and to accept no pay but to charge everything to the Boundary Commission.

The San Francisco establishments, somewhat neglected by the supply transports, and, also, because of a less favorable location, were more poverty stricken than the others, yet nothing *presidio* or mission could do for the comfort or pleasure of the visitors was left undone. In fact, instructed to show attention, Don Hermenegildo, having had no experience—on this, the edge of the Spanish world—in the subtle differences in degree observed in meting out official courtesies, overdid; or, rather, he allowed more to be done than was advisable, of which, afterward, he heard much! For not only were the officers entertained at the *presidio* and mission, but Don Hermenegildo gave them the freedom of the country, so to speak, and permitted a little journey on horseback to be taken down the San Francisco peninsula to Mission Santa Clara de Asís.

History is reticent as to just who planned the excursion—but it is somewhat significant that the visitors, escorted by Sergeant Amador and a guard, alone participated in it. Making the excuse that there were despatches to be attended to, Sal delicately endeavored to put a stop to it by not going; and Padre Landaeta, who was to have been of the party, was indisposed.

Nothing in the *Voyage* suggests that these hints were perceived; if they were, they were disregarded, for, on the 20th, Captain Vancouver and seven of his officers mounted fleet-footed horses and, according to the custom of the country, he tells us, "sat out, attended by a drove of spare horses, more than double the number of our party"

Their ride took them among golden sand dunes over-trailed with shining green *yerba buena*, whose spicy fragrance rose at the touch of the horses' hoofs. All about were scrub oaks, gnarled and bent by the winds of the sea. Tall lupines, with perhaps, here and there, a belated pale yellow spike of bloom, brushed their horses' flanks.

In front, rising high, two peaks, wisped with fog, overlooked Dolores, nestling in the valley. The mission passed, San Bruno hills left behind, a gallop across the Llano de los Robles took them beyond the Arroyo de San Mateo. Live oaks and *madroños* were overhead, but the sentinel, the Palo Alto, was still farther on.

At noon a stop was made at a beautiful spot, so beautiful, indeed, that they left it reluctantly, Vancouver says, who writes of it charmingly; but, in the midst of his delightful description, referring to the repast provided, and partaken of in the open, he adds—the inner man is reminiscent—"with some grog we had brought from the ship, (spirits and wine being scarce articles in this country) we all made a most excellent meal;"

After a brief period of rest "a fresh supply of cavalry

being selected from the drove of horses," they mounted and resumed their journey. Many leagues had yet to be traveled which, one after the other, were left behind. Dusk found them still on the road, but "soon after the night closed in" they reached their destination. Made welcome by the *padres*, the next was an interesting day; and on the 22d they were back at the *presidio*, enthusiastic over their outing.

Finding the *Chatham* at anchor in the bay, preparations for departure began. As, according to orders, no pay had been accepted for supplies furnished: vegetables, eggs, poultry, sheep, and cows, Captain Vancouver presented—besides a hogshead each of rum and wine, to be divided between the missions at Dolores and Santa Clara and the Presidio of San Francisco—various utensils and implements, for, he says, in substance, that, except food, the Spaniards there lacked almost everything.

The *Discovery* and *Chatham* sailed on the 25th, and on the next day joined the *Dædalus* in the port of Monterey.

The *Discovery* and *Chatham* remained fifty days, unloading, repairing, and reloading; but the *Dædalus* was made ready for sea, furnished with supplies, and sent on her way in December, to New South Wales, with a load of cattle.

A tent was erected on the beach for astronomical observations; and there was ample opportunity for research work of many kinds. Gayety was, however, the order of the day, something being constantly planned and done for the pleasure of the visitors. At San Carlos, besides dining frugally with the friars, they were onlookers at a demonstration by the Indians of killing deer by stratagem. One *al fresco* affair was given at the gardens of the *presidio* "situated at a pleasant distance for an excursion" (Vancouver).

What promised to be a delightful return for this appreciated hospitality was given on board the *Discovery* with disappointing results, for many of the guests were overcome by *mal de mer* and had to be taken ashore.

"The late inconvenience . . . in consequence of the ship's motion" was the reason for a dinner given by the English commander at their "encampment on shore" followed in the evening by a display of fireworks, and the entertainment "concluded by a dance and supper . . . " (*ibid.*).

And so the hours sped and light-heartedly they enjoyed themselves, English officers and Spanish Californians.

The most amicable relations appear to have existed and much good-fellowship. Vancouver arranged with Bodega to have Broughton of the *Chatham* return to England via San Blas and Mexico; and Bodega delayed his own departure that he might put him on his way. Some of Vancouver's men had deserted, one being his armorer, and, the time for departure approaching, the deserter was replaced by the only smith at the *presidio*. The Spanish commissioner again refused payment for supplies furnished and again the British commissioner made such gifts as he could.

On January 15, 1793, the two British and three of the Spanish ships hauled up their anchors and all sailed away.

In March of the same year, Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra died. He was a gentleman of the Order of Santiago—*caballero del Orden de Santiago*—and one of the ablest officers of his time in the service of New Spain. He was born at Lima, Perú.

Arrillaga was a man of fine character and ability—who took himself modestly but his responsibilities as *interino*, seriously—and he did not in the least like the way his orders had been interpreted. Nor was his uneasiness lessened "by an order from the viceroy dated November 24, 1792, to

be on his guard against English ships, and especially to prevent the weakness of the Spanish establishments from becoming known to foreigners" (Bancroft).

The "weakness of the Spanish establishments"—at that time, in Alta California, about their largest asset—was already quite well known to foreigners, and had been commented upon freely by Captain Vancouver.

With neither a sufficient force nor armaments with which to resist an attack, this order of November 24 was, in itself, disconcerting—without other complications.

Governor Arrillaga did not wait to arrive upon the scene of the late indiscretions, but, on his way northward, sent a letter to Sal, reproving him for having permitted the excursion to Santa Clara.

Sal, by that time aware that he had mismanaged, gracefully and regretfully acknowledged himself in the wrong—but added that nothing short of the removal of the horses could have prevented the affair; that both he and Padre Landaeta had tried to dissuade Captain Vancouver, but had only incurred his displeasure.

Orders followed, of different dates, giving Sal the exact length—and breadth—to which he was to go in the future in the rôle of a reception committee of one.

From time to time, during the early part of 1793, the presence of English vessels—now here, now there—causing some uneasiness, was reported to the governor, who transmitted the information to the viceroy.

There were too many English vessels about. England was somewhat overrepresented in California waters.

The viceroy, the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, was fully aware of the unprotected condition of Alta California and mindful of it besides; and, in February, 1793, wrote to the governor that the four *presidios* were to be strengthened, some artillery and other things having been ordered, and that the port of Bodega was to be occupied.

Arrillaga's report to him on Alta California defenses—or defenselessness—is dated July 16 of the same year.

Meantime, an important report, under date of April 12, had been despatched to Spain by the viceroy, giving a full yet general explanation of conditions and urging the occupation of Bodega. He did not favor further extension of Spanish dominions on the northwest coast, but advocated conservation of territory already acquired and prevention of the too close approach of foreign powers—such as would be the case should the English plan of making the Bay of San Francisco the boundary line between Spanish and English possessions be adopted. For that reason, Bodega should be occupied at once as an outpost, and then Nootka—or any place south of it, north of Bodega—might be given up without detriment, provided there was no opening from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Another report from the viceroy, dated December 27, included a full report on the missions and the mission system.

Returning in the spring to the northwest coast from the Sandwich Islands, whither he had gone after leaving Monterey in January of the same year, 1793, Captain Vancouver records (as may be seen in his *Voyage*) under date of "Thursday [May] 2. . . . At noon we had reached the latitude only of $41^{\circ} 2'$. The land was in sight, but was so covered with haze, that its parts could not be distinctly discerned. The northerly wind soon returned; with this we stood for the land, and fetched it a few miles to the southwest of Rocky point; just at the spot discovered by the Spaniards in Sen^r. Quadra's expedition . . . in the year 1775, which they named Porto de la Trinidad."

And we read under date of "Sunday 5. . . . In an excursion made by Mr. Menzies . . . he found . . . the cross which the Spaniards had erected on their taking possession

of the port; and though it was in a certain state of decay, it admitted of his copying the following inscription: CAROLUS III. DEI. G. HISPANIARUM. REX. The identity of the porto de la Trinidada therefore cannot be doubted"

Alta California was New Albion to Captain George Vancouver and consistently he calls it so, despite the fact that Spain had long been in possession—and Sir Francis Drake a very long time dead.

The *Discovery* sailed north from Trinidad, but on the 19th of the following October, at seven o'clock in the evening, anchored in the Bay of San Francisco. Vancouver writes: "We were soon hailed from the shore, upon which a boat was dispatched thither, and immediately returned with our civil and attentive friend Sen^r Sal; who, in addition to the offers of his services and hospitality, gratified us by communicating . . . the state of Europe, . . . which . . . had long been an object of our most anxious curiosity. After supper Sen^r Sal retired to the shore, and the next morning I received from him two letters; the one requesting, in an official form, that I would acquaint him in writing of our arrival . . . of the supplies we should want, and of the time I intended to remain . . . in order that he might immediately communicate the same to the governor of the province; the other stating that . . . no individual could . . . come on shore, but for . . . wood and water, excepting myself and one officer, . . . who might pass to the Presidio, where I should be received . . . as on our former visit."

Captain Vancouver, although comparatively a young man—about thirty-five years old—was quite distinguished and was, at that moment, in command of an expedition sent out for scientific research and exploration, under royal orders, and this rebuff by way of greeting shocked him.

He says: "These restrictions were of a nature so unex-

pected, ungracious, and degrading, that I could not but consider them as little short of a dismissal from St. Francisco" And, further, that he "was left in the greatest perplexity to account for a reception so totally different" from that which had formerly been accorded him and after the letters, received in reply to his letter of thanks, with which the viceroy of New Spain had honored him.

He completely exonerates "Sen^r. Sal," but it is manifest that he considers "a captain . . . named Arrillaga" the person responsible for the humiliation and inconvenience to which he is being subjected.

When the *Chatham*, which had been exploring Bodega Bay, arrived, both ships unfurled their sails and, on the 24th, left the chilly official atmosphere of San Francisco. Just outside "The Heads," they were joined by the *Dædalus* returning from across the ocean. After experiencing very unpleasant weather, the three put in and came to anchor in the Bay of Monterey.

Omitting details, now ensued a repetition of the San Francisco episode, but more difficult, for here to be dealt with *in propria persona* was the offensive "captain . . . named Arrillaga," and no kindly "Sen^r. Sal" to throw salt on the fire.

After an interview with Governor Arrillaga, in which Captain Vancouver says he was not allowed to touch upon the object of his visit, he presented in writing, as requested, a full statement explaining the character of his expedition, and stating that the object of his visit was to overhaul and repair his ships, transfer stores, give his men needed exercise and recreation on land, and to make astronomical observations. With this he enclosed a letter from the viceroy to him, dated February 18, 1793, in part as follows: "I am glad that as you say in your letter of Jan. 13th of this year all the subjects of His Majesty under my orders

and residing in the regions of New Orleans (sic) of this America where you have been have treated you with the greatest hospitality and friendship' " (Bancroft, note).

The tenor of Governor Arrillaga's reply, the restrictions imposed, the haste urged, so incensed Captain Vancouver that we find recorded in the *Voyage*: "On due consideration of all these circumstances, I declined any further correspondence with, or accepting the incommodious assistance proffered by, Sen^r. Arrillaga; and determined, after finishing our investigation of these shores, to retire to the Sandwich islands, where I had little doubt that the uneducated inhabitants of Owhyhee, or its neighbouring isles, would cheerfully afford us that accommodation which had been unkindly denied us at St. Francisco and Monterrey."

He had returned whence he had taken him, the armorer he had borrowed to replace his own who had deserted; but his deserters he had thought would be delivered up to him at Monterey were, after many and varied experiences, just then at San Blas.

On November 5, without taking on wood or water or supplies prepared for him—evidently in high dudgeon—Vancouver departed.

Passing on southward, the various points were named by him in honor of his friends in Alta California: Point Sal (of course), Point Argüello, two for the *padre presidente*: Point Fermín and Point Lasuén—but it is not recorded that he named one in honor of the *gobernador interino*, Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga.

Suspecting that back of officially-given reasons for his presence, Vancouver wished to investigate Alta California defenses, Governor Arrillaga had issued to the *comandantes*, while the English vessels were still in port, an order in which he said: "I have offered all the aid they need to undertake their voyage; therefore if they touch at any of the ports under the pretext of getting food or water their request is to be denied, and with politeness they are to be

made acquainted with the orders that require them to retire' " (Bancroft, note).

Certainly that was definite enough in itself, but attached was a *reservadisimas*—very confidential—communication, unsigned and undated, seemingly from the viceroy to the governor, going further: limiting intercourse to urgent need and relief demanded by the law of nations.

At Santa Bárbara, where the governor's orders had not yet been received, Vancouver was in reality allowed no greater privileges than at San Francisco and Monterey, but, in some way, Goycochea, the *comandante*, smoothed his ruffled feathers and he was pleased with his reception. The friars were very kind. Padre Santa María came up from San Buenaventura with a flock of sheep and as many vegetables as twenty pack mules could bring. He was taken back in state on board the *Discovery*, and Vancouver spent a day with him at the mission.

San Diego was reached on the 27th, these being the first foreign vessels to enter the harbor. Arrillaga's instructions had been received, but both the new *comandante*, Lieutenant Antonio Grajera, of the España Dragoons, who had arrived and assumed office on the 19th of the previous month, and the former *comandante*, Don José de Zúñiga, who had been promoted to a captaincy and ordered to Tucson, Sonora, but was still at the *presidio*, were very considerate. Orders were carried out so tactfully that no offense was given and, later on, Vancouver named Point Grajera, below San Diego, and Point Zúñiga, on the lower coast, in their honor.

Some packages which the English commander was anxious to forward to San Blas and Mexico were taken charge of for him; and the latest news, brought by a courier on his way to Monterey, was given him. His sojourn was happily rounded out by the arrival of Padre Presidente de Lasuén, who regretted there was not time for fresh vegetables to be sent down from San Juan Capis-

trano, from which mission he had come. Cordial relations between the two were still further strengthened by the gift from Vancouver to Lasuén of a fine barrel organ for the church at Mission San Carlos, where, during his former visit, he had been so kindly made welcome.

On December 9, Vancouver again left the North American coast for a voyage across the Pacific. He had received, as yet, no news of the outcome in the Nootka matter.

Under date of February 28, 1794, following the departure of the English vessels, the viceroy approved Arrillaga's policy and desired it continued. (At the same time, be it understood, friendly relations with Vancouver were to be maintained.)

On June 10 of the same year, a royal order, dated March 25, 1793, was forwarded, granting shelter to English vessels in Spanish ports. This was followed on the next day by a communication from the viceroy again approving Arrillaga's policy, ordering it continued, and instructing that *comandantes* were to prevent examination of the country (a tap on Sal's knuckles), and, also, the shipment of cattle to foreign ports (this for Argüello).

Thus does Diplomacy blow hot and cold!

XXXI

Lieutenant Colonel Don Diego de Borica, adjutant inspector of the *presidios* in Chihuahua, a native of Vitoria, in the Basque province of Álava, Spain, and a knight of the Order of Santiago, was appointed early in the year 1794, governor, political and military, and *comandante inspector* of the Californias.

On May 14 of that year, Borica took office at Loreto; and, on the same day, despatched instructions to Arrillaga to continue acting as governor until he reached the capital. He had arrived from San Blas a day or so before, and was accompanied by his wife, Doña María Magdalena de Urquides, the possessor of large estates, and by a young daughter, Doña Josefita. And, in their train, came a valet and a maid, a negro page and a man cook.

Arrillaga had already written a short account of his administration for the viceroy and the customary lengthy document for his successor. In fact, he had set his house in order, as *interino*, and was ready to depart therefrom. He now wrote the viceroy that, in view of work awaiting him, it was important that he should return to Baja California as soon as possible.

On July 12 of this year, 1794, Revilla Gigedo was succeeded as Viceroy of New Spain by the Marqués de Branciforte.

Being very capable, Arrillaga had been expected to turn existing confusion in presidial accounts into something more nearly akin to order and this had received first consideration. But he soon found there were other matters requiring immediate attention. *Presidio* buildings, notwithstanding

the work done by Don Pedro Fages, were in a deplorable condition, yet this was relatively of small importance in view of another situation confronting him.

So far as anything remotely approaching ability to resist attack, Alta California, the outpost of New Spain, was in a state of what amounted to absolute defenselessness. Without delay and with unremitting energy, Arrillaga attacked the problem and was soon deep in preparations for building a fort at San Francisco.

As there was no mason to be found among such artisans as they had, he pressed into his service a rover, a journeyman with some knowledge of the trade, who had drifted into Monterey the year before, and work began on the Castillo de San Joaquín, at the most northerly point of the San Francisco peninsula (Fort Point). He was his own architect and builder; and from that time until he was relieved as *interino*, the work of improving the defenses of San Francisco went on.

The new governor did not arrive for some time and evidently Don José Joaquín became very impatient, for when the news came that the *propietario* was nearing San Diego, he waited no longer but, between the 16th and 22d of September, set out, traveling rapidly southward, meeting Borica about the middle of October at San Juan Capistrano. There, the former *interino* and the *propietario* spent four days in close consultation, Governor Borica resuming his journey northward on October 17.

Arrillaga had been *interino* two years and four months; and, upon arriving at Loreto, again took up his duties as lieutenant governor.

Recrossing the Pacific from the Sandwich Islands, the British commissioner, Captain George Vancouver, reached

Nootka in September, 1794. General José Manuel de Álava, who had succeeded Bodega y Cuadra as commissioner and, also, as *comandante* at San Blas, was already there. Both were without instructions; but when—one day following another—the middle of October came around and they were still without those Álava was to have received before the 15th, the two commissioners and their retinues sailed for Monterey on the *Princesa*, *Discovery*, and *Chatham*. All arrived early in November, the last to make the port, the *Princesa*, dropping anchor on the 7th.

Argüello was found in temporary command. Arrillaga had gone and Borica had not yet come. Of this interim, Vancouver, who had been wounded to the quick, whose pride, official and personal, had been offended, writes: "Sen^r. Arrillago having been ordered to some inferior establishment, had resigned his authority at this place, and . . . Don Diego de Borica had been appointed some time since to the government of this province, and was now daily expected at Monterrey."

Argüello was very cordial, offering every civility, but Vancouver asked only for such things as wood and water and some fresh supplies, deeming it more respectful to submit other requests to the governor himself.

No official communication awaited either commissioner.

The deserters from the *Chatham* and *Dædalus* were there; and a letter from the former viceroy, Revilla Gigedo, being held, under instructions from him, for Captain Vancouver, was delivered. And of this he says: "It was dated on the 20th of October, 1793, about the time when we first felt the influence of Sen^r. Arrillago's disinclination towards our little squadron."

This letter was addressed to him at Monterey but, should he not return to that port, was to be transmitted to him in England. It brought him news of Broughton's safe arrival in Madrid, and was, throughout, kindly in tone.

All this leads him on and he binds up his still unhealed feelings with the thought that the letters, couched in terms of friendship, with which the viceroy had previously honored him, had meant more than the perfunctory politeness implied by Arrillaga's behavior. And, in this connection, the point stressed the year before: that a second visit had been neither expected nor arranged for, bobs up, for, after putting two and two together, he sums up with: "that the viceroy *did expect* that I should make, *at least, a second visit* to Monterrey, was evidently proved by the deserters having been sent hither."

The *gobernador propietario*, Don Diego de Borica, reached the capital on the 9th, he himself says,—on the 11th, according to Vancouver. Therefore, it is difficult to invest the announcement of his arrival with the proper dignity.

It is not possible to steer a straight course through Don Diego's dates. In each of three letters, he gives a different date as that of his arrival at Loreto: May 11, 12, and 13! This is an excellent place to note that Bancroft's and Vancouver's dates do not always coincide. But, in working out historical itineraries, one finds that a seeming difference in dates is not always a real one.

Mixed dates, troublesome even when unimportant, are not unusual; and finding a date in one history not the same for the same event as that given in another does not necessarily argue, in either case, a careless historian.

No news had arrived from England for Vancouver, when information, contained in despatches received by Alava on the 11th, was shared with him, and in this way he learned that "no further altercation would take place" and that

the Nootka matter had been adjusted "in an amicable way." And, he was further informed, special commissioners for disoccupation had been appointed and he had been relieved.

At the proper time and in the most approved European fashion, the English officers, in the wake of their commander, paid their respects to the new governor. An *entente cordiale* was established and, during their entire stay, Don Diego de Borica, a man of no little cultivation, proved a charming host—and, also, something of a diplomat.

For one thing, the English visitors were kept very busy being entertained, partly, perhaps, to turn their attention away from things it were best they should not see—but had seen, for, long since, Vancouver had noted that should "the ambition of any civilized nation tempt it to seize on these unsupported posts, they could not make the least resistance"

The lively spirit for investigation previously displayed was tactfully restrained. And, not in this connection does Vancouver state that: "The profound secrecy which the Spanish nation has so strictly observed . . . in this hemisphere, naturally excites, in the strongest manner, a curiosity"

Writing of attentions of every possible kind, he adds that he had so much business to attend to and had been for months past in such wretched health that he was rarely able to take part in any of the gayeties.

The situation, strained the year before to the breaking point, was marvelously well handled—strictly in accordance with Spanish policy, but with a wisely liberal interpretation thereof. Furthermore, it is apparent that in the exercise of his duty, the new governor was thoroughly enjoying himself, for, in one of his letters, he writes that, of the group then at Monterey: Vancouver, Álava, Puget, and

Fidalgo, none is more than his match " 'before a dozen of Rhine wine, port or Madeira' " (Bancroft).

Vancouver remained at Monterey while completing reports and charts and having copies prepared to send to England via San Blas. Meanwhile, overhauling and refitting the vessels for the long homeward voyage had been in progress, and supplies had been taken on.

Broughton not having returned, Captain Vancouver appointed Lieutenant Peter Puget to the command of the *Chatham*.

All being in readiness, after good-bys had been said and many an *ádios*, on Tuesday, December 2, the expedition took its final departure from Monterey.

The return voyage was made around Cape Horn, and the Thames was reached on October 20 of the following year, 1795.

George Vancouver, famous as an explorer, died at Petersham, Surrey, England, on May 10, 1798.

Shortly after his return from the northwest coast of America, he began the preparation, for publication, of a narrative of the voyage, but before the task was finished, Death stayed his hand. The work was completed by his brother, John Vancouver, assisted by Captain Peter Puget, and published under the title already given in these pages.

An agreement for the mutual abandonment of Nootka was signed at Madrid on January 11, 1794, by Spain and England, represented by Prime Minister Godoy and Baron St. Helens, British ambassador to the court of Spain.

Later, commissioners, General Álava for Spain and Lieutenant Sir Thomas Pierce for England, were appointed to carry out officially, at Nootka, an elaborate abandonment program which had been agreed upon in detail.

On November 20 of that year, Pierce landed at Vera

Cruz, going by way of the capital to San Blas, sailing from there on the *Activa*, commanded by Lieutenant Cosme Bertodano, on January 13, 1795, and arriving at Monterey a month later.

Working a carefully considered way through a maze of direct contradictions, one finds that Álava joined Pierce on board the *Activa*, sailing for Nootka from Monterey on March 1.

On the date agreed upon, March 23, 1795, a declaration and counter-declaration were signed at Nootka by the commissioners. Flags were lowered, those of England and of Spain; or, one flag was raised and the other lowered, but which went up or which came down is a problem which seems to have remained unsolved. At all events, Nootka was abandoned.

We read in a report of the *American Historical Association* (1904): "After the prescribed ceremonies had been performed, both the Spanish and English deserted the place. Neither nation ever occupied it. Nootka is still inhabited by Indians" (Manning).

What one gained and the other lost or what one lost and the other gained would be hard to say. If behind certain amicable arrangements, of doubtful import, between the two nations, respecting the northwest coast of America, never taken advantage of, and the privileges accorded British vessels in North American waters, there were others not at the time divulged, they seem to have remained state secrets. But, putting all that to one side, one fact stands out: Spain had relinquished for all time her erstwhile sovereignty of the northwest coast of America and the waters appertaining.

The time had long since passed when the Pope of Rome could divide a world in twain—even a new world—and the gift of one half to Portugal and one half to Spain remain intact.

The treaty of 1790, the ambiguity of certain of its

articles, reasons for and the steps taken leading to the adjustment of 1795, may be found set forth to suit almost any taste—dispassionately or according to race and understanding—but the whys, wherefores, and therefore have no place here.

News that Spain and France were at war reached Monterey in October, 1793. Contributions asked for by the viceroy were sent but were returned and distributed to the donors. In 1795, Alta California was again called upon to contribute, and the appeal was published by the governor, who headed the list with one thousand *pesos*, calling upon officers, friars, neophytes, and settlers to assist. From all classes, save one, came a generous answer, until the little fund amounted to three thousand, eight hundred and eighty-one *pesos*.

The friars, as usual, pleaded poverty; and, as Franciscans, they were obliged to be poor. They did not consider the missions and mission possessions theirs, but merely a trust.

As *padre presidente*, Lasuén received no stipend, nor had Serra. The *padre presidente*, being a supernumerary, did not get even the four hundred *pesos* a year allotted the friars regularly in charge of the missions. It has been repeatedly stated by their chroniclers that these stipends, as money, were not sent to Alta California but were expended by the College of San Fernando in the purchase of a few necessary articles for the friars and the rest for their missions and the neophytes. Sometimes they got neither the stipend nor its equivalent.

When the Dominicans took over the Peninsula missions, Padre Lasuén had received nothing for five years! He had nothing left, not even thread with which to mend his garments and scarcely any garments left to mend. In his letters, he had ceased to ask calmly. There is a frenzied

pathos in his appeals, in the name of charity, for something wherewith he may be clothed! Arriving in Alta California in all that was left of his tatters, he was given a garment by one and another who could ill spare it themselves. He said that the Indians liked him in Baja California because his almost garmentless condition was so nearly like their own.

War with France gave a little impetus to coast defenses.

Colonel Don Miguel Costansó, a member of the war board, regarded the long coast line as a difficulty not to be overcome, and forts in distant provinces, with no home resources, as almost useless. This he set forth in a report of October 17, 1794, and urged settlement and commerce.

Early in 1795, Governor Borica asked for reënforcements. In July of the same year, a committee, composed of Costansó, Fidalgo, and Sanchez, recommended batteries and gunners, but only as a protection against corsairs—protection against a squadron being in their opinion impracticable. They also recommended that vessels for coasting service be furnished. And, on the 25th of the same month, Viceroy Branciforte wrote, declaring it impossible to fortify and defend the whole coast against superior forces.

Orders in regard to foreign vessels were promulgated; but seldom did a foreign vessel arrive. The *Phænix*, English from Bengal, touching at Santa Bárbara in August, was the only one in 1795 to experiment on with the orders issued; and she was harmless, taking on a few supplies and departing whither she was bound. On board was a lad who wished to remain and "become a Christian," left by the captain with Comandante Goycochea, who, writing of him to Governor Borica, said his name was "Bostones," that he was a pilot, a carpenter, and of good parentage. He did not remain in Alta California to "become a Christian," but was sent on the *Aranzazu* to San Blas. In some

official communication, it was written: " 'This Englishman is a native of Ireland and his parents live now in Boston!' " (Bancroft, note). His name was Joseph O'Cain.

One of the foreign vessels to arrive in 1796 was English, the *Providence*, under Captain Broughton, who had been on the coast with Vancouver, bringing instruments that had been intended for Bodega y Cuadra. The viceroy's order to make reprisals on all English ships was of a later date, November 30, and was not received in Alta California until the next year. Captain Broughton—leaving the instruments which were paid for by the governor and afterward sent to San Blas—took on some supplies and departed.

Orders issued as to foreign vessels usually differed little from those which had preceded them, but occasionally instructions as to just how it would be possible to carry them out in case they had to be—which, fortunately, did not happen—would have been comforting to the recipients. One communication to Governor Borica directed that large warships, able to seize San Diego, were not to be permitted to enter the harbor!

The *Otter*, sailing from Boston—the first vessel flying the flag of the United States to anchor in a port of Alta California—entered the harbor of Monterey on October 29, her papers properly signed and countersigned, and sailed away again on November 6, leaving indignation in her wake. She was commanded by Captain Ebenezer Dorr, who asked to leave some English sailors, stowaways on his vessel. This was refused, but he left them anyway, landing, at the point of a pistol, ten men and a woman on the beach at night. They proved so useful and industrious, however, that the governor would have liked them as permanent settlers, but orders came to send the foreigners to San Blas by the first vessel.

They were convicts from Botany Bay, whom Dorr had taken on board at Port Saxon without knowing it. They

were giving him no end of trouble, which, to him, was an excuse for this breach of international courtesies.

Also in 1796, reënforcements, Catalan Volunteers and artillerymen—almost a hundred men—began arriving in March and April, followed by others the succeeding spring, and were distributed where they could be most effectually used. Twenty-five Catalans were assigned to San Francisco, where Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Alberni became the *comandante*. Twenty-five were sent to San Diego under Lieutenant José Font. The artillery detachment arriving under Sergeant José Roca was also distributed.

Among arrivals was Don Alberto de Córdoba, lieutenant of engineers, who, besides reporting on defenses, was to make a general map of Alta California. In the course of his tour of inspection, he found that neither in the north nor the south could any sort of resistance to attack be made. As a determining factor in some of his recommendations, was the impossibility of fortifying the tremendously long coast line. He therefore advised more troops on land, and one or more cruising vessels to patrol the coast. On January 20, 1797, Córdoba's first report was sent to the viceroy.

Borica hung his hope of salvation from foreign foes, while waiting for more effective protection, on the possibility that the utter defenselessness of the province was not known to the world at large.

XXXII

Peace having been concluded with France, Spain and England were now at war.

Beginning in March, 1797, many alarms were sounded on the Alta California coast.

English vessels were ordered seized! *Comandantes* were instructed to redouble precautions. Every one who could shoulder a musket was drilled, and, on Sundays, target practice was the order of the day.

The *padres* were given to understand that more than prayers would, in this instance, be required, and that, should they be needed to assist in the defense of the province, their neophytes would have to be forthcoming.

The Indians were gathered together and the horrors of an invasion by the English were depicted, some apprehension being felt lest the beads and trinkets given them by the visitors of that nationality might possibly have shaken their loyalty and lead to a betrayal of the Spaniards.

Lookouts to give warning of the approach of the enemy, and sentinels where a landing might be effected, were posted.

There had been a long drought—several bad years—and strict economy with all provisions was ordered, for the coming of the transports might be cut off and then no provisions could arrive!

But, with sails unfurled to the wind, like a great white bird floating on the water with wings outspread, the *Concepción* was sighted off the coast in April, and in May came the *Princesa*, both with supplies as usual. At least, larders would be well filled for some time to come.

Through the summer, all was quiet. Gradually, fears were allayed. They were so far away from anywhere, it might be that nothing would happen, after all! But—in October a report arrived from Baja California, and with it consternation, that a fleet of perhaps sixteen vessels had been sighted, heading for the north!

One thrilling, terrible week followed before this was proved to be without foundation. Meantime, general orders had been issued by the governor to spread the news in all directions "*á mata caballo* [at horse-killing speed]"! And, to all the *comandantes*, the governor issued another and peremptory order that: should he be taken prisoner, the defense of California was to be continued by them, governed by duty and circumstances; and that under no condition whatsoever was any order purporting to come from him to be heeded!

On December 17, a large warship did arrive off Santa Bárbara, but she was Spanish, the *Magallanes* from Manila—Captain Espinosa—coming not to attack but to defend. Having found no foes on the coast, she proceeded on her way to Acapulco.

On a beautiful moonlight night, in that year of grace, 1797, San Diego Bay had been thoroughly surveyed by the English! This, however, was not known to the Alta Californians for several years.

Don Alberto de Córdoba, a man of distinction in his profession, an *ingeniero extraordinario*, was, while in Alta California, to assist in founding not a *pueblo*, strictly speaking, but something far more ambitious: a *villa*.

Services to be rendered by Córdoba are outlined in a report of the royal tribunal of accounts, dated November 18, 1795, in which the first definite statement in regard to the *Villa de Branciforte*, named in honor of the viceroy himself, was made.

The famous Plan of Pitic, Sonora, was to be used—a plan expressly designed to be followed for other *villas* throughout the Provincias Internas. It called for four square leagues of land, laid out with regularity in streets and town lots; capable of being beautified and adapted to civic adornment; widening out into commons for the use of all the inhabitants; and once again widening out into pastures and cultivable land brought under a system of irrigation. Symmetry was to govern all; and due thought was to be given to sanitation and convenience.

Government under the Pitic plan was vested in a *comisionado* and, with a population of thirty, an *ayuntamiento* consisting of two ordinary *alcaldes*, six *regidores*, a *síndico*, and, in place of an *habilitado*, a town treasurer. The tenure of the land after four years became alienable, except to a church, monastery, or ecclesiastical community, on condition that the *poblador* was always equipped with arms and two horses and was ready to march against an enemy.

In 1795, Governor Borica had ordered *pueblo* sites sought for between Monterey and San Francisco. In May, 1796, he, Alberni, and Córdoba traveled in company up and down the land, inspecting sites for the *villa* in prospect. In June, Governor Borica called for reports from the other two. Replies received from Alberni and Córdoba are dated July 1 and 20 respectively, recommending a place fulfilling all requirements: near the sea, with facilities for export; having an abundance of water and rich soil, timber, stone, lime, and clay; and lying on the river San Lorenzo opposite Mission Santa Cruz.

In reporting to the viceroy on August 4, Governor Borica was carried away by his enthusiasm and declared "the Santa Cruz site the best between Cape San Lucas and San Francisco" (Bancroft).

Pitic was a garrisoned town, the Presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas having been moved there; and, so far as

was possible, Branciforte was to be garrisoned. Lieutenant Colonel Alberni, who had also been mentioned in the first report to the viceroy, was to be put in command.

The *pobladores*, it was specified, were to be of a fine type. Borica had asked that four classes be sent: robust country people from cold or temperate climates, artisans, shipwrights, and, that advantage might be taken of the many whales in adjacent waters, a few sailors.

On May 12, 1797, the *Concepción* arrived with the first delegation of *pobladores* for the Villa de Branciforte, seventeen in number, nine of them men: a group of half naked, shivering—some of them diseased—individuals. They were not convicts but just undesirable citizens—a good rid-dance to Guadalajara from whence they hailed!

The lack of suitable wives for those in the province seems to have disturbed Governor Borica, who evidently was loath to let even one eligible female escape. On November 19 of the year before, he had directed "the commandant of San Francisco to try and prevail on María Simona Ortega, a widow, to remain in the country; for sooner or later some soldier or civilian will ask her hand in marriage" (*ibid.*, note).

Now in the new group were five bachelors! Governor Borica's reaction to this not-to-be-countenanced state of affairs is shown in a note taken bodily from Bancroft and is interesting when one remembers the condition and class of citizens for whom he was demanding wives. "Sept. 17, 1797, Borica to viceroy, wants good wives, strong young spinsters, especially for criminal settlers, since the padres objected to the native women marrying such husbands. Besides good health the girls must bring good clothes, so that they may go to church and be improved. *A sine qua non* of a California female colonist must be a serge petticoat, a *rebozo corriente*, a linen jacket, two woollen shifts, a pair of stockings, and a pair of strong shoes." In reply,

"Jan. 25, 1798, viceroy says orders have been given to procure young, healthy, single women for the pobladores, but the task presents some difficulties" (*ibid.*, note).

June 1, 1798, Borica registers more excitement and asks for one hundred women! Although this was a "free-for-all," there seem to have been no entries, and the attempt to get wives for the creatures that had been and were being sent to Alta California was unsuccessful.

The new arrivals had been clothed but they must also be housed, and the Villa de Branciforte was not ready to receive them.

Gabriel Moraga, the son of the founder of San Francisco, had been appointed *comisionado*, and, on May 26, was ordered to proceed to the site of the proposed *villa* and to install himself and family in small temporary huts, building larger ones, also temporary, for the *pobladores*, pending the arrival of "*el ingeniero*," Córdoba, engaged on other matters.

On July 17, Borica issued orders to Moraga in the matter of the management of the *villa*, instructing him that: peace and harmony must prevail; there was to be no drunkenness, no concubinage; neglect of public work was punishable; mass must be attended on days of obligation (unless one preferred three days in the stocks); the rosary, recited in the guardhouse, must close the day; certificates of annual confession and communion and the observance of Lent must be forwarded; precautions, the greatest, must be taken to insure proper care of the settlers' clothing, which they must not sell, and, if sold against orders, the sale would be void; on Sundays there was to be general inspection, and stolen articles were to be returned to owners; there was to be no communication whatever with Indian *rancherías*, by day or by night.

On July 24, 1797, Governor Borica founded the Villa de Branciforte. In August, *el ingeniero*, who had arrived

upon the scene, was busily engaged in surveying and getting everything under way, generally. An estimate of probable cost, asked for, was made by him, the amount required being between twenty-three and twenty-four thousand *pesos*. This was sent to the governor, who transmitted it to the viceroy.

On October 24, Governor Borica ordered all work suspended—because of lack of funds—and activities at the *villa* came to a sudden halt!

In November of that year, orders were issued by the viceroy recalling Córdoba. They were received by him in April of the next year, 1798, and in October *el ingeniero* was on his way to Mexico.

The rest of the story of Branciforte need not be long in the telling and seems best told in the following sequence, lifted from excerpts given by Bancroft in a note taken from a series of translations, of which he speaks in high praise, by a Mr. Williams of Santa Cruz:

"Jan. 28, 1798, Borica to Moraga. Must teach the Guadalupeños agriculture and strive against their natural laziness; treat them with charity and love, but punish grave faults and malicious failure to work. . . .

"Oct. 28th, Borica orders Moraga to inspect the wardrobe of settlers' wives and report what is needed. . . .

"Feb. 4, 1799, Moraga must go on with his duties, for his chance of promotion depends on it. . . .

"April 3d, . . . [Borica will] hold Moraga responsible for remissness of any settler in caring for his land. . . .

"May 12th, the settlers' two years at \$116 per year expire today. . . .

"Nov. 21st, Sal notifies Moraga that Vallejo will supersede him as *comisionado*. . . .

"Dec. 31st, Sal assures Borica that Vallejo will perform his duties faithfully. . . . Settlers must not make pleasure trips to San José. . . .

"Jan. 3, 1800, settlers in need of corn and beans. . . .

"Feb. 10th, Sal to Vallejo, at the end of 1799 the settlers owed the treasury \$558; the appropriation for 1800 is \$540, so that receiving nothing they would still be in debt. The delivery of cigarritos and other articles not rations and tools has been suspended. . . .

"Dec. 5th, governor to viceroy, the Branciforte settlers are a scandal to the country by their immorality, etc. They detest their exile, and render no service. Daily complaints of disorders. . . .

"Dec. 11th, The nine pobladores received in 1800 rations at \$60 each. . . .

Reading between the lines of orders, the duties expected of the *comisionado* must have been irksome.

In that year, 1800, with a few changes in personnel, there were exactly the same number of inhabitants that had arrived in May, 1797. About eleven hundred bushels of wheat, maize, and beans were raised and the Brancifortians then had about five hundred head of stock.

But gradually the Villa de Branciforte disappeared and, after comparatively a few years, did not exist even in the memory of man.

XXXIII

Five new missions of the inner chain were in contemplation. All were to be in front of the Coast Range, back of the original missions and about equidistant between them. Locations had, in a general way, been decided upon, much of the necessary information having been collected by Sergeant Amador in his various explorations; but, in 1794-5, journeys were also made by the *padres* from the different missions, escorted by guards, in order to further simplify the final selection of sites. General results, formulated by the *padre presidente*, were, under date of January 12, 1796, submitted to the governor, and were included by him in a report to the viceroy despatched in February.

In his report, Governor Borica stipulated that no more troops would be needed for the new foundations, the presence of the Catalan Volunteers and of artillerymen making it now possible to supply from the troops at the *presidios* the necessary mission guards; and it might be that fewer guards would suffice at some of the original missions.

A strong appeal was made to the government in the suggestion that by founding these new missions, the reduction of all the natives might be brought about, in which case a saving of fifteen thousand *pesos* annually might be effected.

The viceroy's order to proceed was dated August 19, 1796. And, on September 29, the guardian announced that he had detailed the missionaries for the new foundations. He protested, however, against decreasing the guard at any of the original missions.

The viceroy's orders were received by Governor Borica before the end of that year, 1796; and, on May 5 of the

following year, Padre Lasuén informed him that the friars would be on hand. The *padre presidente* said that it would be difficult for the missions already established to furnish so many new missions at one time, but that he would do the best he could: Santa Clara, San Francisco, and San Carlos would be asked to take care of the two at the north; Santa Cruz must be excused, and it was doubtful whether Soledad could contribute.

Ceremonies, in founding the California missions, were as nearly alike as circumstances permitted and, except for minor incidents and surroundings, a description of one would almost serve for all. Therefore, only a brief summary of the founding of these five new ones is necessary.

For Mission San José, the first to be founded, the "*alameda*," so called, it is supposed, by Sergeant Amador, was decided upon. This place lay some seven or eight leagues north of Mission Santa Clara, but on the eastern side of the southern end of the bay and opposite the peninsula of San Francisco.

Except for recent explorations made by Sergeant Amador, none had been made in that region for nearly twenty years.

The Indians were unfriendly. Nevertheless, in 1794, during a scarcity of food in that locality, a good time to make converts, the friars asked for an escort, in order to go among them and use the pressure of their necessities in conjunction with the usual allure of food, in plenty, at the missions, to draw them into the fold. This was thought too hazardous, and, as almost nothing was known of that part of the country, the *comandante* at San Francisco refused the request. But, in 1795, according to the records, Macario Castro, who, evidently, was not timorous, had a herd of mares in the *alameda*.

Under orders from the governor, dated May 15, 1797, the *comandante* at San Francisco detailed Corporal

Miranda and five soldiers as the guard for Mission San José.

On June 11, Padre Presidente Lasuén, unassisted by other friars, founded the mission, returning the same day, with all who had accompanied him, to Mission Santa Clara.

Sergeant Amador and his men then went back to the *alameda* and, by the 28th, on which day the friars for the new mission, Isidoro Barcenilla and Agustín Merino, arrived, so much had been done that it was thought the rest might be left to Corporal Miranda and the mission guard.

Irascible and always at outs with Corporal Miranda, Padre Barcenilla kept things stirred up at that lonely spot. Writing to the *comandante* on September 27 of that first year, he complains bitterly "that the soldiers will not lend a hand even . . . where 'the most barbarous Indian would not refuse his aid' "; and that "Private Higuera does nothing but wag his tongue against such as assist the padres"; also that the corporal "is much changed and will not work even for pay." Miranda said "that the padres were angry because the soldiers would not act as *vaqueros*" (Bancroft, note).

The Indians were often threatening, but by the end of 1797 there were thirty-three converts, increasing to two hundred and eighty-six by the end of 1800. Live stock, contributed by the northern missions, showed a good increase; and, during the three years, three thousand, nine hundred bushels, chiefly of wheat, had been garnered.

Mission San Juan Bautista, situated between San Carlos and Santa Clara, was founded on June 24—San Juan's Day—1797, by the *padre presidente*, assisted by Padres Catalá and Martiarena, the latter, together with Padre Martínez, being assigned to this the second of the inner chain of missions to be established.

Five men were detailed as the mission guard under command of Corporal Ballesteros, whose orders were some-

what less stringent than those formerly issued. More was left to his discretion in furnishing the friars with escorts; and, while it was not advisable, the absence of soldiers from the mission, overnight, was not absolutely forbidden.

Corporal Ballesteros was so efficient that, although the governor's orders to the *comandante* at Monterey were dated May 18, by June 17, a church, a dwelling for the friars, a granary, and a guardhouse were all in readiness for the ceremonies on the 24th.

By the end of the first year, there had been eighty-five baptisms; and by the end of the year 1800, six hundred and forty-one. In 1800, there were harvested two thousand, seven hundred bushels of grain.

The most important event chronicled in the early annals of San Juan was the great earthquake of the year 1800, beginning on the 11th of October and continuing, with sometimes six shocks in a day, until the 31st. On the 18th, the most severe occurred, cracking the buildings from top to bottom. The *padres* remained out of doors all night, sleeping in the carts belonging to the mission.

The Indians said that such disturbances were not unusual in that region.

For Mission San Miguel Arcángel, the third to be founded, a site was chosen between Missions San Antonio and San Luis Obispo. It was established on July 25 of the same year, 1797, by Padre Lasuén, assisted by Padre Sitjar, who remained. He was joined by Padre Horra, a newcomer, who succeeded in creating, during a very brief stay, a situation disconcerting in the extreme.

At the end of 1800, three hundred and eighty-five persons had been baptized. The crop for the three years was three thousand, seven hundred bushels of grain.

For the fourth mission, between San Buenaventura and San Gabriel, the Reyes *rancho* was selected and the house

of the *ranchero* used as a dwelling for the missionaries. On September 8, 1797, Padre Lasuén, assisted by Padre Dumetz, founded Mission San Fernando Rey de España, named in honor of Ferdinand III of Spain, surnamed "The Saint," under whose rule Castile and Leon were united; who reigned from 1217-51, and was canonized in 1671 by Pope Clement X.

Padre Uría was detailed at this mission, to serve with Padre Dumetz.

At the end of 1797, there were fifty-five neophytes; three hundred and ten at the end of 1800.

Mission San Luis Rey de Francia, the fifth of the new missions of the inner chain, and the last of those to be founded, was named in honor of Louis IX of France, who reigned from 1226-70 and was canonized in 1297 by Pope Boniface VIII. It was dedicated on June 13, 1798, by Padre Presidente Lasuén, assisted by Padres Santiago and Peyri, who were assigned to the mission. It was located back of and between Missions San Juan Capistrano and San Diego, of the outer chain.

During the previous year, Lasuén, escorted by Corporal Lisalde and five men, had himself sought a site for this mission. The number of docile Indians in the immediate neighborhood of this place, named originally *San Juan Capistrano*, known later as *Capistrano el Viejo*—Old Capistrano—had been a controlling factor in its selection. The *padre* had had some misgivings as to the possibility of raising good crops there. But at the end of 1800, there was a credit of twenty-one hundred and twenty bushels of wheat and barley. The crop of maize came out even—only as much being gathered as had been planted—and the bean crop was a failure.

The first year there were two hundred and fourteen baptisms, and at the end of 1800 there were three hundred and thirty-seven neophytes at the mission.

As will have been seen, the *padre presidente* had personally founded all five of the new missions.

Soon after the founding of Mission San Miguel Arcángel, Padre Antonio de la Concepción Horra arrived and, from the day of his arrival, when he arranged blankets, with due regard to his comfort, on his bed of boards and took a *siesta*, he drew the attention of all to himself.

His behavior was unusual, for the friars in Alta California were Observants, the most austere members of the Order of St. Francis, adhering strictly to his precepts, which, being reduced to their lowest terms, amounted to never being comfortable when to be uncomfortable was possible!

Then began, on that very first day, stinging criticisms from him in regard to the management of the mission. On the next day, he worked himself into a frenzy and alarmed Padre Sitjar by declaring: " 'Little lacked it last night that I took a course with the Father-President that would have resounded in the land' " (Richman). He was rabid because the neophytes were not compelled to speak Castilian according to royal orders; and his first sermon proclaimed to them that discard their native speech they must. Padre Sitjar, who had been for years at Mission San Antonio, was a practical soul who had blinked this issue—impossible of fulfillment.

Alternately changing from mirth without reason to anger without cause, he strutted about wrapped in megalomania: in imagination a great ruler, ordering the Indians to discharge flights of arrows and the soldiers rounds of cartridges.

The mission guard contemplated the spectacle he made of himself, watchfully, fearing the outcome. The Indians, horrified at his gesticulations and shouts, began to leave the mission. His companion friar at the mission, Buena-ventura Sitjar, was afraid to be with him and hastily betook himself to Santa Bárbara, where the *padre presidente* then

was, to describe in detail, as no writing could, these wild goings-on at the mission.

Lasuén reported to Governor Borica, on August 19, that Horra was to be taken to Monterey by Padre de Miguel, "by gentle means if he can, or any way he may," and brought before him, adding: "I have resolved, as far as concerns me, that he should embark as soon as possible on the frigate *Concepcion*" (Engelhardt).

All were convinced that Padre Concepción was demented. He was found to have secreted a pair of pistols and, perhaps, the *padre presidente* had really narrowly escaped death at the hands of a madman. He was enticed to Monterey but did not consider himself enticed and, later, claimed to have been roughly treated. There, both surgeons pronounced him insane.

Before being detailed to Alta California, Padre Concepción had already displayed signs of approaching megalomania by announcing himself at the College of San Fernando as *maestro de ceremonias*—master of ceremonies—when, as a matter of fact, there was no such office!

Two *padres*, who had served their ten years as missionaries and were broken in health, were about to return to Mexico, and Padre Concepción was sent with them.

There was another friar who went at the same time, said to have been little less insane than Concepción, but, as to that, opinions differed. This was Padre José María Fernández, who, in 1796, was at the mission at Dolores. To the governor he had given the harshness of Padres Dantí and Landaeta as the reason so many neophytes had fled the mission during the year 1795. Investigation by Borica had substantiated the charge, and he had then taken up the matter with the *padre presidente*, who wrote "that he would see that the causes of the complaints disappeared" (Engelhardt).

On July 1, 1798, Governor Borica, writing to the viceroy,

reported "that since October, 1796, the rigor with which the Indians of San Francisco had been treated had ceased. 'I do not attribute,' he said, 'the merit of this change to myself. . . . The true author is Father José María Fernández'" (Richman, note).

On the other hand, Padre Fernández is said to have been the victim of hallucinations due to an accidental blow on the head; and an epidemic raging at the mission is held responsible for the many deaths among the neophytes, two hundred and three, and the hegira of some two hundred during the year 1795. Governor Borica, it seems, was convinced, later, that the many departures were due to fear of contagion.

The return of Padre Concepción to the College of San Fernando was not the end but the beginning of a *cause célèbre*, in which many ranged themselves on the side of the insane priest. In a memorial which he prepared and sent secretly to the viceroy, he brought charges—some, very serious—against the friars in charge of the Alta California missions. He declared that while possessing not inconsiderable wealth, and spending hundreds of *pesos* for liquor, they were niggardly in the matter of wine for mass; that the neophytes were treated very cruelly, floggings, shackles, and the stocks being ordered for the most trifling faults.

Less shocking were his other accusations: that tariff prices were disregarded; that Indians were taught the *doctrina* in their own language instead of, according to royal orders, in Castilian, and were sometimes baptized twice; that because he was ready to expose these nefarious practices, he had been accused of dementia and returned to Mexico. And he asked that he might finish out his ten-year term as a missionary in Michoacán. This was not granted, but in 1799 he was transferred to Querétaro for a time, for

which the Guardian of the College of San Fernando "thanked God."

In August, 1798, the viceroy forwarded Concepción's charges to Governor Borica for investigation. At the end of December of the same year, Borica's report, embodying those of Argüello, Sal, and Goycochea, three of the *comandantes*, to him, was ready: He dismissed the rest of the charges as not to be taken seriously, but stated that "the charge of ill-treatment was in the main well-founded" (*ibid.*). He said that, as governor, he had no authority over mission affairs, even in temporalities; that "he knew nothing as to the condition of the Mission exchequer. It probably was richer than was supposed" (*ibid.*).

The affair dragged along from one to another in high authority; books at the college, showing less money to the credit of the Alta California missions than their annual upkeep, were quoted. Finally, the guardian supplicated that the viceroy "be pleased either to intrust the reductions there to other hands, or else that before the King our sovereign, the public his vassals, and all the world, the honor, credit, and good name of the individuals of this college, and the fame and reputation of our sacred habit, be wholly cleared and vindicated,—a right which we cannot forego . . .'" (*ibid.*).

In 1800-1, Lasuén devoted seven months to his reply to fifteen questions sent to be answered, which Bancroft calls "a comprehensive exposition of the whole subject . . . the most eloquent and complete defence and presentment of the mission system in many of its phases . . . extant."

The physician at San Fernando had recommended that Padre Antonio de la Concepción Horra be returned to Spain; but it was not until 1804 that, with the consent of the Council of the Indies and of the viceroy, he finally went. "When last seen he was being conducted to his province from Madrid, after a season at Aranjuez, where in the royal audience chambers he had sought to attract notice

by ringing a hand-bell and uttering pious ejaculations" (Richman).

Long since relieved of swaddling clothes, four of the five new missions of the inner chain had passed their fifth birthdays, and San Luis Rey, the youngest, was "goin' on" five. They were creditably in line with their elder sisters in the long and interesting biennial report to the College of San Fernando, prepared by the aged *padre presidente* and dated February 21, 1803.

At the then existing eighteen missions, there were thirty-six regular missionaries receiving four hundred *pesos* a year from the Pious Fund, in goods, for their neophytes and missions, including a few necessities for themselves. There were, also, three supernumeraries without stipends.

There were more than fifteen thousand Indians, male and female, at the missions. Live stock would soon pass the two hundred thousand mark and bushels of grain ran into phenomenal figures.

No report on fruits produced was required, but fruits were raised at all of the missions,—wine and table grapes, at about half; olives were grown at many, and good olive oil was being expressed at San Diego.

This was the good padre's last report.

Four months later, on June 26 of that year, 1803, Fray Fermín put aside his earthly cross, forever.

The day of the death of Padre President Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén was a sad one at Carmelo and at Monterey. On the next day, he was buried in the church with appropriate ceremonies—and that is about all that is known of the passing of this remarkable man. He was beloved, but he had no personal historian, no devoted Palou, and, thus, much that would be of interest regarding him and his work has been lost to us.

During thirty years in the province, he was never unready; he created no difficulties, but endeavored to clear the path and so to coöperate that Church and State might go forward jointly, unimpeded; he was steadfast against innovations that were not for the best, and, in his criticisms, constructive.

Padre Lasuén was a good man, neither a bigot nor a fanatic; nor was he a victim to that morbid introspection, destructive to mental balance, induced by those solitudes. On the contrary, he was thoroughly sane, a wise man and practical, living objectively, oblivious of self and absorbed in his work. His character was simple and upright. He was straightforward, firm, speaking the truth with frankness; and in his written communications, clear and concise—a most unusual accomplishment in that day of ambiguity and verbiage. Evidently, he was possessed of great personal magnetism, impressing, with his simple dignity and charm of manner, the few visitors to that far-away land from the outside world.

Lasuén was a tireless worker, founding many missions, but he does not seem to have urged them. He was to be found where he was needed. Mission San Carlos was his home mission, but the greatest good of all the missions was his work, and he journeyed from one to the other of the eighteen, spending much time at Mission Santa Clara.

Fermín Francisco de Lasuén was born at Vitoria, Álava, Spain, and was, supposedly, of French descent. On March 14, 1768, he sailed from San Blas for Baja California, assigned to Mission San Francisco de Borja. From there, he journeyed to Velicatá, to speed with his blessing the first division of land forces in the "sacred expedition" of Don José de Gálvez, breaking a way northward in March, 1769; and, later, in 1773, following their trail himself, arriving at San Diego on August 30. He served at San Gabriel, San Juan Capistrano, and San Diego prior to his appointment, in 1785, to the office of *padre presidente*.

Padre Lasuén was succeeded in office by Padre Fray Estévan Tapis, of Mission Santa Bárbara.

Not a great deal of education was necessary at that time in Alta California; but there was less than was necessary and there were no facilities for acquiring any, even the most elementary.

The soldiers were very ignorant. For example: In San Francisco, in 1786, only seven soldiers out of thirty could write; in 1791, two out of thirty-eight; and, in 1794, not a man! Few in the ranks were fitted to be corporals; and corporals often could not make the next grade because they could not read. Promotion was slow.

Officers taught their children, in many cases; but ignorance of the Spanish equivalent for "the three R's" was so usual as to cause little comment.

To Governor Borica belongs the honor of having made a beginning: Before the end of 1794, a school was started at San José. The schoolhouse was a municipal granary, which would not be needed for its legitimate purpose until after the next harvest. Manuel Vargas was the first schoolmaster. Later, he was transferred to San Diego, and in 1798 he was in Santa Bárbara. He evidently was addicted to drink, for the *comandante* there was notified by the governor that if Vargas did not mend his ways he was to be removed, "that drunkenness was a detestable vice, in fact a forerunner of all other vices; that it would not be tolerated in a school teacher . . ." (Hittell). He mended his ways.

In place of Vargas as schoolmaster at San José, the *alférez*, who was a real not a so-called *don*, had been installed—who had never, by any accident, been able to keep his accounts correctly—Ramón Lasso de la Vega. His pay was to be advanced from the government revenue on tobacco, and collected afterward. A home was to be

furnished Don Ramón for himself and family. Twice had he asked and twice had he been refused permission to marry. Evidently the government had relented; but not as to his indebtedness, for, later, under date of August 19, 1797, he is dunned to pay a balance still due.

Mexico was asked to send primary teachers, but, in the long meantime, near-at-hand "talent" was seized upon, avidly, by the governor: José Manuel Toca, a *grumete*—cabin or ship's boy—from one of the transports, being pressed into service at Santa Bárbara. Corporal Manuel Boronda, a carpenter as well as a soldier, taught the children at San Francisco gratuitously, as did José Rodríguez, also a soldier-carpenter, at Monterey.

Reports and copy books were to be sent, every so often, to the governor; and these reports and copy books were to be saved and, out of them, cartridges were to be made.

Soldiers and corporals were ordered to study and prepare for promotion.

And so the good work was begun.

XXXIV

Don Diego de Borica was a man of many letters: letters of all sorts; but in his letters to his friends, written shortly after his arrival at the capital, in which he gives—vividly—his first impressions, one's interest centers. A few excerpts quoted and requoted in the various histories are simply tantalizing bits, creating a desire for more. Among other things, he says: "‘Este es un gran pais [This is a great country]’"; and writes of the climate of Monterey as "‘sano y entre frio y templado [healthy and between cold and temperate].’" A *bon vivant*, he dwells on the delectables gustatory to be had; but, besides and better—here we see the man—not seeking, finding in the new land that oftentimes evasive something, light-heartedness, he adds "‘y *bonne humeur*, que vale por todo [and *bonne humeur*, which is worth all]’" (Hittell, Spanish note).

There was, perhaps, a little more state and ceremony, but there was nothing brilliant in the administration of Don Diego de Borica. It was worthy.

This is not disparagement. No opportunity for outstanding effect awaited him in the Californias. He came to Monterey filled with enthusiasm and the pure joy of living; with the will to achieve, to do worth-while things in a worth-while way; and found himself the center of a world of details—gone wrong.

There was nothing dramatic in the situation; and Borica was not, himself, dramatic. Most of the time, he remained at Monterey, where he seems to have been very contented, and did his duty thoroughly. He had the courage of his convictions—and his convictions were good.

An enormous amount of routine work fell to his lot as military and political Governor of the Californias, but Don Diego was endlessly industrious—his innate enthusiasm flowing in new channels—and he expressed himself unreservedly in the terms available; and, where it was possible, accomplished. Sometimes he was left in the lurch, his work uselessly done and his energy wasted. We know the story of Branciforte.

New issues were constantly presenting themselves and, from painstaking attention given to postal charges and the revenue on tobacco to careful consideration of tithes and indulgences, he was a faithful official, unflagging in his efforts to overcome existing evils and to point a way toward better things.

Don Diego got along with the missionaries—better than did his predecessors, which is not saying much! And, in truth, they did not like him any too well, nor did they any government official, no matter how *frailero* he might be!

By no means a prohibitionist, Borica undoubtedly made a vigorous, if not absolutely the first, fight against liquor in Alta California. Despite the assertion of Captain George Vancouver that "spirits and wine" were "scarce articles" in the country, *aguardiente*, an agent of evil, was to be had and much *mescal* was being brought into the province with deleterious effects. This traffic, Borica fought valiantly with little result, not being given adequate governmental support; but, nevertheless, he sought so to regulate it that it would do the least harm.

Teaching Castilian to the aborigines was uppermost in the minds of officials in Spain, but Borica was trying to remedy the great lack of even the rudiments among the soldiers and, at the same time, to devise a way by which children of officers and settlers at *presidios* and *pueblos* should not grow up in the outer darkness of ignorance; and the little tallow dip which he lighted became a beacon!

Borica was heartily in favor of dividing the government

of the Californias, and, in a written opinion asked for, gave his reasons, some of them being that, in important matters, Baja California suffered from the delay occasioned by despatches being first sent to Monterey and, from there, transmitted to Loreto; that many of the interests of the lower province, such as pearl fisheries and mines, were quite distinct; and that the methods of the Dominicans and the Franciscans were different.

In advocating the change, he indicated, delicately but pointedly, that no better man could be found for governor of the new province than the present lieutenant governor, José Joaquín de Arrillaga.

No mention has been made of the numberless reports of the usual Spanish length that had to be despatched; and, at last, this man of many letters, weary unto death, had to ask to be excused for the brevity of an epistle to a friend, "saying that it was as difficult for him to dictate a letter as to write one—that he felt old and had lost his energy" (Hittell).

On April 1, 1799, Governor Don Diego de Borica asked to be relieved from office or, at least, to be given a leave of absence, that he might return to Mexico for surgical or medical treatment, for he was ill, adding that his constitution was giving way after twenty-five years of continuous service, during which time he had traveled more than ten thousand leagues on horseback.

An eight months' leave of absence was granted him and this was made known in California in September of that year; but arrangements for the proper continuance of the government of the Californias, for even a lengthy period, were made. Under instructions from the viceroy, Governor Borica appointed Lieutenant Governor Arrillaga *interino*, and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Alberni, *comandante* at San Francisco, to Monterey as *comandante de armas* for Alta California. On January 3, 1800, he instructed the

comandantes to publish the accession of Arrillaga and Alberni.

He had advised Arrillaga to petition for the office he himself held and, to this petition, which reached him at San Diego shortly before his departure, he added, in a marginal note, his unqualified recommendation of the applicant. This document was sent to Mexico and from there to Spain.

On January 16, Don Diego, Doña María Magdalena, and their three children—two having been born in California—sailed on the *Concepción* from San Diego for San Blas.

Don Diego de Borica never reached the capital, dying at Durango, July 19 of the same year, 1800. He had been Governor of the Californias for five years and eight months.

As it was expected that a conclusion would soon be reached in the matter of dividing the Californias into distinct provinces, the appointment of a successor to Borica was postponed until that should have been settled, and Arrillaga, the governor *ad interim*, remained at Loreto.

In March, 1804, royal orders dividing the Californias were issued. In the same royal orders, Arrillaga was appointed *gobernador militar y político* of the northern province, with a salary of four thousand *pesos* per annum. His acknowledgment to the viceroy is dated November 16, 1804, from which date he became *gobernador propietario de Nueva California*—New California—under orders to act, also, as *interino* for *Antigua California*—Old California—until such time as a *propietario* for that province might be appointed.

He was given permission to proceed to Monterey, but was not able to avail himself of the privilege until certain technicalities in connection with his installation as political governor, which could not be complied with because of distance, had been waived. Orders permitting him to tender his oath of office before the senior officer in the vicinity,

who was to act as *comisionado* for the viceroy, are dated March 7, 1805.

In orders, issued at Madrid in that year, Don Felipe de Goycochea, *comandante* at Santa Bárbara, was appointed Governor of Antigua California.

Several uneventful years followed the departure of Governor Borica from Alta California. Routine orders emanated from Loreto and comparative serenity was enjoyed at Monterey.

Toward the end of 1800, on December 8, Don Hermenegildo Sal passed away at Monterey and was buried in the church at Mission San Carlos, with military honors. Twenty-four years in the province, Sal had served Spain faithfully and capably; and, earlier in the year, had applied for retirement with the rank of captain. He was born at Villa de Valdemoro, Castilla la Nueva, Spain.

In March, 1802, another notable began the journey to the Great Beyond, Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro de Alberni, a Catalanian, born at Tortosa, Spain, ranking military officer in the Californias, in command at Monterey. He, also, was buried with military honors, in the church at Carmelo.

Warnings in regard to foreign vessels came, as usual, with special orders as to those flying the British flag. At the end of 1802, however, news reached the Californias that England and Spain were no longer at war; and high masses were ordered by the viceroy in honor of peace.

The attention of *comandantes* had been called to American craft, constantly on the coast, whose activities were to be noted.

On February 26, 1803, the *Alexander* (Boston owners)—Captain John Brown—put in at San Diego and came to

anchor. Brown said that his crew had scurvy, and asked to remain for a time.

The *comandante*, Don Manuel Rodríguez, granted the request, naming a time limit of eight days, and, because of contagion, designated a landing place at some distance from the fort. Fresh provisions were furnished.

Rodríguez became convinced that Brown had other business at San Diego than the restoration of his men to health; and, on the night of March 3, under orders from him, an officer boarded the vessel and seized nearly five hundred otter skins which had been smuggled on board. Brown was ordered to depart at once. He did so, but merely changed his anchorage to Todos Santos and asked for wood.

On March 17, in the evening, the *Lelia Byrd*—Captain William Shaler—entered the harbor without being hailed and found a comfortable anchorage. This is well, as the *Lelia's* is a long story.

Second in command and in partnership with Shaler was Richard J. Cleveland, of Salem, Massachusetts, who had amassed a fortune in Pacific trade and was very familiar with its ins and outs, but had not tried his luck on the coast of the Californias. He had outfitted the *Lelia Byrd* at Hamburg, sailing from there in November, 1801, carrying a cargo consisting of a great variety of merchandise which was to be sold by fair means or foul.

Doubling Cape Horn, the *Lelia* reached San Blas in July, 1802, remaining thereabouts for something like six months, until this "watchful waiting" resulted in sixteen hundred otter skins, just from California, being secured at prices so favorable that in themselves they made the voyage a success; and ten thousand dollars' worth of goods was disposed of.

This was not brought about by the *Lelia's* masts being outlined against the horizon. Collusion with the *comisario* and an emissary to Mexico, in the person of some one from on board, are hinted at.

A distinguished Pole—Count Rouissillon—interested in the profits of the voyage had sailed with Shaler and Cleveland, but left the ship at San Blas.

Sailing from San Blas on January 25, 1803, the *Lelia* was put in condition at Tres Mariás. From there, in February, Shaler laid his course for San Diego.

On the morning after the arrival of the *Lelia Byrd* in the bay, the *comandante*, with an escort of twelve men, visited the vessel. The usual courtesies and formalities were complied with. Permission to land was given, but the *presidio* was not to be visited; and the necessity, under the law, for immediate departure was imparted.

Leaving a guard of five men, under Sergeant Arce, on the *Lelia*, the *comandante* returned to the *presidio*. Now, Sergeant Arce did some unwise talking—either because he was pleasantly induced to do so or simply to be important—and the Americans were told that Rodríguez was in official possession of about one thousand otter skins including those seized, only a very short time before, on the *Alexander*, which episode was also narrated in detail by the indiscreet sergeant.

Shaler made every effort to buy these skins, but failed.

On March 21, the *comandante* again visited the vessel, received pay for supplies furnished, and, wishing Shaler and Cleveland a pleasant voyage, returned to land—suspicious of his visitors' intentions!

Preparations for departure went forward, but the two Americans, loath to depart without the pelts they desired, determined to glean at least those they had heard were in possession of some of the soldiers, who were more than willing to sell them—provided they were not caught doing so. Therefore, during the night, two boats were sent to different points to gather them in. One boat returned with a few skins; the other was seized by Rodríguez, who was expecting some such development. The mate and two men were bound, and, leaving three soldiers to guard them, the

comandante went on to inspect the battery, where Corporal José Velásquez was in command. There, goods which had been delivered by the Americans were found and confiscated. Forty good otter skins were to have been paid for them, but, it seems, the pelts had not yet been handed over—either because of the inopportune arrival of the *comandante* and a hasty departure, in consequence, without them or because of some slip in prearrangements.

Now the various accounts begin to complicate the story. But the gist is that on the morning after the eventful night, Cleveland came on shore to recover his men—and recovered them. He says he got them on his own representations—whatever they were—and that may be. He also says he was escorted by four men, each armed with a brace of pistols, and got them in that way—and that may be. Antonio Guillen, who, at the beginning of this episode, had been detailed by Rodríguez on the *Lelia*, came with Cleveland, but made it convenient not to return with him. Instead, he hastened to the battery and warned the corporal that the intention on board was to sail without landing the guard.

Forewarned, preparations were rushed to prevent the Americans from carrying off the Spaniards. And, when the sails were hurriedly run up on the *Lelia Byrd* and a dash was made for the open sea, all was in readiness at the battery!

Cleveland says that a gun was fired before departure—but nobody seems to have heard it.

A flag was hoisted at the fort, and a blank cartridge fired. No attention being paid to the warning, next came a nine-pounder across the bows. The Spanish soldiers, who, it was supposed, were about to be kidnapped, were put in undesirably conspicuous positions by the Americans; and Shaler kept the *Lelia* straight on her course. Shots fired from the battery did some damage to the vessel; as to what, accounts disagree, but an ugly hole in her side

seems to have been made. As the *Lelia* passed the fort, two broadsides from her six three-pounders were fired, scattering the Spaniards at the battery but doing no harm.

Rodríguez says the battery ceased firing when the vessel did. Cleveland says that the cannonading went on for three quarters of an hour before a single shot was fired by the Americans.

Before the *Lelia* finally shook her skirts free of the waters of the bay, Arce—the telltale—and the rest of the guard were put ashore, shouting, according to Cleveland: "*Vivan los Americanos!*"

Credence seems to be given in greater measure to the statement of Rodríguez, an officer who had endeavored to do his duty, than to the say-so of two merchant adventurers, foiled in an attempt to smuggle.

The *Lelia* was now turned southward and, putting in at San Quintín, Baja California, for repairs, met the *Alexander*. In a report in May, to Governor Arrillaga at Loreto, Corporal Ruiz of San Vicente, notes their arrival and says that one of them had "come out of a fight at San Diego 'muy mal parado [very badly done up]' " (Bancroft, note); that had he known of the fight he would not have allowed her to anchor. He adds that many friars visited the vessels; and encloses a note from Shaler—a complaint against the *comandante* at San Diego!

The Americans and the Dominicans became very good friends; and, it seems, the spirit was willing, nay, more than willing—eager—but the Dominicans were not well equipped with the wherewith to barter with these illicit traders.

After meeting Shaler and Cleveland in the *Lelia* Byrd, Brown again headed the *Alexander* northward, putting in wherever he thought he could impose upon the officials and, without their knowledge, take on a few pelts.

Shaler and Cleveland steered for the Hawaiian Islands, and, later, the skins they had obtained were sold in China.

Corporal Velásquez was put under arrest by Rodríguez, not for any dereliction of military duty in connection with the departure of the Americans, but because of the contraband goods found at the battery and confiscated. Velásquez claimed that these had nothing whatever to do with trade; that there had been merely an exchange of gifts between his men and those on the *Lelia*. It is suggested that the forty otter skins had been confiscated by the *comandante* as well as the goods deposited at the battery by the Americans.

In June, 1806, the *comandante* at San Diego announced to the governor the sale of the confiscated articles and named four men who deserved to share in the proceeds: some two hundred and twelve *pesos*. As to the skins seized on the *Alexander*, it appears that before they could legally be disposed of, they rotted and were thrown into the sea.

In May, the *Alexander* arrived in the Bay of San Francisco—the second American vessel to enter the port. Brown's record had not preceded him and he obtained not only wood and water but supplies. (What else he obtained is not stated.) When he sailed, his immediate destination was Bodega.

On August 11, he returned with a consort, supposed by Bancroft to have been the *Hazard*—Captain James Rowan—met by Shaler and Cleveland at Valparaiso the previous year.

Brown told a long tale of woe, including encounters with the Indians and hardships manifold—no doubt true—but he got no sympathy; instead, he was reminded that, not a great while before, he had received provisions enough for eight months; and was told to go hence, he could have nothing more.

Without more ado, he weighed anchor and departed; but he did not go far, dropping in at Monterey, where he got what he asked for, and where the *Alexander* was put

into sufficiently good condition for him to slip away in the night, leaving his bills unpaid.

Rowan's written statement as to the condition of the *Hazard* was verified personally by Comandante Argüello, who went on board, and his requests received due attention. Further, if ever discretion, the better part of valor, was needed, it was then: The *Hazard* was equipped with twenty-two guns of nine and twelve pounds caliber and twenty swivel guns, with fifty men to man them and manage the ship.

Argüello had but two cavalrymen at his disposal, the rest being absent from the *presidio*; and, with the distinct understanding that there was to be no intercourse whatever with citizens or soldiers, permission was granted, that could, so easily, have been taken for granted, to remain four days, which became eight because of wind and fog. The *Hazard* sailed on August 19, Rowan having paid all his bills in cash. In September, Rowan applied for provisions at Santa Bárbara and got them; but proceeding to San Juan Capistrano, did not.

Infantry was not very useful in the province, and the withdrawal of the Catalan Volunteers, numbering seventy officers and men, was begun, detachments sailing on the *Princesa* and *Activa* in the autumn of that year, 1803; the rest following later.

A new idea in the fur trade arrived on the northwest coast with the *O'Cain*, under command of Captain Joseph O'Cain, owned in part by the Winships, of Boston, from whence she sailed on January 23, 1803. Captain O'Cain must have cast a spell over the manager of the Russian American colonies, Aleksánder Andréevich Baránov, under which he agreed to send him south to secure otter skins on shares, and with him some Aleuts, with their *bidarkas*,

to do the hunting. With varied experiences along the coast, and a long stay at San Quintín, the *O'Cain* returned to Sitka in June, 1804, with eleven hundred skins. It appears that several hundred more which should have been on board, but were not, had been sold by O'Cain to the friars at low prices for ready money, thus defrauding his partners by this shabby transaction.

(Could this possibly have been "Bostones," Joseph O'Cain of the *Phænix*, who wanted to be made a Christian!)

After many untoward adventures, the *Lelia*, hailing from Canton, with Shaler on board—Cleveland, half owner in the questionable enterprise, having returned to Boston—was back off the coast in 1804, returning in 1805, and up to her old game, as is clearly shown in the excerpts from a narrative written (Bancroft thinks) by Shaler himself, as follows: "On the 23d [of May, 1804] we arrived on the coast of California, where I got abundant supplies of provisions, and began a trade with the missionaries and inhabitants for furs. We continued on the coast . . . until the 8th of July . . ."; and, again: "[in February, 1805] arrived without any remarkable occurrence on the coast of California, where we got plentiful supplies of provisions as usual, and were not unsuccessful in our collection of furs" (Bancroft).

An astonishing bit of information, in this connection, coming through Bancroft from Cleveland's narrative, is that Shaler succeeded in rounding out his career as "consul general of the U. S. to the Barbary powers"!

Storm-swept, having lost two of her officers and three men, her mast and two boats gone, the *Hazard*, in distress that none could gainsay, put in at San Francisco on January 30, 1804, asking help, and got it without stint; departing at the end of February. But, while still in port, an order from the governor, to detain her, arrived. No effort seems to have been made to do so—and this is not to be wondered

at, for even in distress, the *Hazard* was amazingly well equipped with guns and men, which to the *comandante* of a defenseless *presidio* must have looked frightfully like GUNS AND MEN!

XXXV

On August 19, 1805, Arrillaga sailed from Loreto for San Luis Bay, and from there proceeded overland, arriving at Monterey on January 20 of the next year, 1806.

During that year, the boundary line between Nueva and Antigua California was definitely fixed, and was the same as that which had divided the jurisdictions of the Dominicans and Franciscans: south of Mission San Diego and north of Mission San Miguel at the Arroyo de Barrabas ó del Rosário. At the same time, military jurisdiction over the Dominican missions, which had been under the Presidio of San Diego, was transferred to the Presidio of Loreto; and thus the last link was severed and no connection, military, political, or ecclesiastical, remained.

Among the first orders issued to the *comandantes* by Arrillaga, after his arrival at Monterey, was one very drastic and in some respects novel, in which he takes cognizance of an utter disregard, in the matter of contraband trade, of both the viceroy's orders and his own; and states that existing conditions are to cease.

Notice of the arrival of any vessel anywhere was to be given at the nearest *presidio*; supplies were to be refused and a guard was to be posted on shore to prevent intercourse with any one. And, in order that "assurance" might be "double sure," no citizen was to leave his residence during such time as the vessel remained.

A thriving contraband trade was going on up and down the coast, manipulated by Americans, who laughed at Spanish laws against it, and paid no more attention to them than if they had never been promulgated.

These orders, it is clear, were especially framed to circumvent this; and behind them was a clever bit of finesse: The parties of the second part eliminated—absolutely removed, confined to their homes—the parties of the first part would have no reason for remaining. Their excuse would be intact: provisions, wood, water; but their real and more sordid object, camouflaged by it, would be unattainable!

On April 4, the *Peacock*—Captain Kimball—loaded with merchandise to trade for pelts, anchored off San Juan Capistrano, four men going ashore with the usual request for provisions. None were forthcoming; and the corporal, mindful of recent orders, arrested them and sent them to the Presidio of San Diego.

The *Peacock* recovered her boat and moved to a point farther down the coast off San Diego. From there, a letter was sent ashore and, in some way, delivered to one of the prisoners. In it, the information was conveyed that the *Peacock* would remain for a time, standing off and on, to pick them up should they escape. And, a vessel being sighted, on June 23 they did escape, stole a boat and put to sea, but came back, crestfallen, not having been rescued.

However—the enthusiasm of the corporal at San Juan in carrying out orders and arresting suspicious persons bore fruit: On June 25, San Diego was visited by a mysterious craft, about which so much has been written and so little is known that it is sufficient to say, being refused provisions and an opportunity for repairs, she sailed on down the coast to Todos Santos. There she took on water, whether or no, and, also, whether or no, took on three men who had been posted to watch proceedings, using them as hostages for those from the *Peacock*, held at San Diego, which place the captain of the mystery ship, whoever he was, made such dire threats of demolishing that Comandante Rodríguez threw up entrenchments and prepared to give battle. He

had only half a dozen men available, but they were sufficient for his needs, for no bombardment took place.

Baránov had made other contracts similar to that made with Joseph O'Cain; and one of the men released reported a vessel hunting otter with northern Indians and canoes.

The advance of the Russians after their arrival on the North American coast islands, in 1745, had been slow but very sure.

Paying tribute to Russia and termed Russian, the personnel of the first settlements was not Russian. The colonists were Kamchatkans and Siberians of mixed blood. They were fur gatherers and fur traders, banded together in small groups continually fighting among themselves. Fearless, navigating any waters in their small craft—privateers—lawless, they did just about as they pleased. Their advent brought terror to the natives and turned the Aleut world into an inferno beyond the power of pen to depict. Fierce, cruel—they were like beasts of prey among them!

This state of affairs lasted for more than forty years. Then, being, among other things, avaricious, groups joined other groups for mutual gain. Later, companies, asking and obtaining concessions and monopolies from the Russian government, were formed.

At the same time, a plan was developing in Russia, originating with Grigóriĭ Ivánovich Shélekhov, head of a great fur company to gain control of the fur trade, and in 1788, Nikolái Petróvich de Rezánov, one of the ten barons of Russia, became interested in the project. Potentially, he was a keen business man and gave his time and energy to such purpose that upon the death of Shélekhov, in 1795, he was the leading spirit and in unhampered control.

Rezánov was court chamberlain to the tsar, and in 1783 had been made privy councilor and invested with the order of St. Ann. He now set about obtaining such privileges

as had been granted by England to the East India Company.

He succeeded so well that a merger of all the big concerns, crowding out or absorbing small companies and independent dealers, effected in 1799, was followed by an imperial grant giving dominion over a vast territory for a term of twenty years; and a gigantic all-powerful monopoly—the Russian American Company—came into being.

The great company flourished, Rezánov drew large revenues; and there were enormous profits to be divided among the shareholders, who included members of the imperial family.

The first expedition sent around the world under the auspices of Russia, sailing in 1803, under orders of Tsar Alexander I, was commanded by Captain Adam Johann von Krusenstern, on board the *Nadézhda*, her consort, the *Nevá*, being under Captain Urii Lisianskiï, both of the imperial navy.

On board the *Nadézhda*, and to whom, in some respects, Captain von Krusenstern was subordinate, was Baron de Rezánov, proceeding as ambassador extraordinary to the court of Japan—the first ambassador to that country from Russia. With that and his sorry experiences we have nothing to do, but as plenipotentiary of the Russian American Company, he reënters our story.

Leaving the *Nadézhda*—which now disappears below the horizon of these pages—in June, 1805, at Petropavlovskii, Rezánov crossed over to the Aleutian Islands, arriving at Unalaska in July. In his suite were Dr. Georg H. von Langsdorff, himself very distinguished, a surgeon, a man of science, a member of many learned societies, and a knight of the Order of St. Ann; two naval lieutenants, Davýdov and Khvostov; and others.

At this time, Russian American Company affairs were not in an entirely satisfactory condition and Rezánov found

orders awaiting him to remain in the colonies as imperial inspector and bring about such reforms as might be necessary.

Traveling slowly, investigating, and correcting so far as might be, he arrived in due course at the company's headquarters at New Archangel.

Winter comes early on those inhospitable shores, and stays late; and by the failure of one supply ship to arrive and the wreck of another, with the coming of winter came worse than semi-starvation to the little colony of two hundred on the island of Sitka—and Rezánov starved with the rest.

One day, when conditions were so bad that they could scarcely be worse; when crows and devilfish and all manner of unsavory things had been resorted to for food, the *Juno*—Captain Wolfe—dropped anchor; and, with a double purpose, permanent as well as temporary relief, Rezánov bought the vessel, cargo and all.

Under date of February 15 of the next year, 1806, Rezánov wrote to the directors of the Russian American Company that he was going to California on the *Juno* to get provisions; was to weigh anchor about the 20th, and might get caught in the equinoctials, but it was either that or starvation!

On the next day, in a letter to the acting chamberlain, Vitovtov, Rezánov unburdens his soul. He lays bare the grief he has brought with him—his wife, a daughter of Shélekhov, having lately died—and reveals the effect of all he is then enduring on the island of Sitka in the depression apparent in its tone; and says: " 'No personal considerations have entered into my unrestrained revelations, but only the thought of glory and of the common welfare. . . . A man robbed of his tranquillity of soul by a merciless fate does not care for himself, and much less for honors and praise, as they are all insufficient to fill the void in his being which only death can bridge by uniting

him again with the one whom he has lost. . . . The moral sufferings, the voyage, and troubles have undermined my physical strength; various diseases have developed themselves; my children in the meantime tell me that I have abandoned them. . . . The welfare of my fellow beings alone causes me to brave the seas . . . ' " (Richman).

On March 8, Rezánov, accompanied by Langsdorff, sailed southward on the *Juno*, which was carrying a tempting cargo of Russian and American goods to be offered the Spaniards in exchange for foodstuffs. Could temporary relief but be secured, Rezánov hoped to arrange, later, by treaty, a permanent trade, beneficial to both, between the two colonies.

The voyage was frightful, the weather stormy, and the men so weakened by famine and scurvy that half were disabled. About the 4th of April, the *Juno* reached the entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, hove to and lay outside until morning, when, with all sails set and wind in her favor, a straight run was made for the harbor. The hail from the fort was answered, but the *Juno* did not drop anchor until out of range of the guns. Writing of this to the Minister of Commerce, Rezánov said: " 'With pale and emaciated faces, we reached San Francisco Bay, and anchored outside because of the fog. . . . As a refusal of permission to enter meant to perish at sea, I resolved, at the risk of two or three cannon-balls, to run straight for the fort at the entrance' " (*ibid.*).

In the absence of his father, the *comandante* of the Presidio of San Francisco, it devolved upon Alférez Luis Argüello to meet the situation, and this he did by going to the shore escorted by twenty men and accompanied by Padre Uría.

A boat was lowered, and Langsdorff and Lieutenant Davýdov came ashore.

The Krusenstern expedition was expected, having been

officially announced, and certain courtesies were to be extended. The *Juno* was mistaken for one of the vessels of this expedition, and was more cordially received than she otherwise would have been. The entire interview was carried on in Latin, by Langsdorff and Padre Uría, this being the only language possessed in common by any two.

Rezánov and his officers were invited to the *presidio* and entertained at dinner by Señora de Argüello, upon which occasion two friars lent their aid. Embarrassing questions were asked by Don Luis—the answers to which were to be transmitted to Governor Arrillaga at Monterey. Such questions had been expected and by way of answer there may have been some stretching of the truth. (The Spaniards must be impressed; supplies must be obtained;—and “Necessity knows no law!”)

Rezánov's own version of the explanation he gave of his arrival, singularly informal for an envoy extraordinary, and of the nonappearance of the *Nadézhda* and *Nevá*, is given in substance, by Bancroft, in a note, from which the following is quoted: “. . . that Krusenstern's squadron had returned to Russia; that the Tsar had intrusted him with the command of all his American possessions; that he had inspected his dominion during the past year . . . and that finally he had determined to visit California and consult with its governor, as ruler of a neighboring country, concerning mutual interests . . . and ‘at any rate I did not exaggerate much,’ he adds.”

The visitors were entertained at the mission. Nothing was said about trade; but Rezánov made presents to practically everybody there and thus adroitly the cargo was advertised. Trade was in the air and ready to be put into words, but nothing could be done without the governor's consent.

A courier had been despatched to Arrillaga, at Monterey, announcing the arrival of the Russians; and, at the

same time, a note had been sent by Rezánov, thanking him for the courteous reception accorded him at San Francisco and announcing that as soon as repairs to his vessel were completed, he would present himself in person at the capital.

Shortly afterward, he again wrote, saying that if it met with the governor's approval, he would go overland to Monterey. This not being at all in line with the desires of Arrillaga, Don José Darío Argüello, returning to San Francisco from Monterey, brought a letter from Governor Arrillaga to Rezánov, in which he said he would spare him the trouble, as he himself was about to journey northward.

"'I recognized in this,' says Rezánov, 'the suspicious nature of the Spanish government, which everywhere prevents foreigners from acquainting themselves with the interior of the country, and observing the insignificance of its forces'" (Bancroft, note).

About April 18, the governor arrived, and the personal interview desired by Rezánov was had—and many of them, both speaking French.

By this time, Spanish laws against trade were only too well known to Rezánov. Trade in general was discussed at each interview, and the benefits to be derived from trade between the two countries, to which Arrillaga agreed—in the abstract. Evading the real issue, the dire need at the north, and the fact that he had brought a cargo of goods for the express purpose of trading it for foodstuffs, it was as though written before his eyes that the governor would neither break the laws nor violate his oath of office! From whatever angle he approached the subject, the incorruptibility of Arrillaga rose like a wall between them.

The situation was hopeless. He was no nearer the governor's consent to trade with the friars than at the first interview; and all the while, under the hatches of the *Juno*,

lying at anchor in the bay, was the cargo—which probably had been known to the governor for some time.

According to the Russian version, through Tikhménev, Rezánov approached the subject more directly, as follows: "I frankly tell you that we need bread, which we can get from Canton; but as California is nearer to us, and has produce which it cannot sell, I have come here to negotiate with you a preliminary agreement to be sent to our respective courts' " (Richman).

Arrillaga, finally, did consent to a purchase of grain for cash. But Rezánov, taking that as an entering wedge, dared a little more and asked wherein would be the harm if, grain being purchased for cash and a report made, the friars then, with money in hand, should also, for cash, purchase goods from the *Juno*?

But Arrillaga would have none of this, and answered: "No. No, . . . that would be the same thing; and after living sixty years without reproach I cannot take such a trick on my conscience' " (Bancroft).

Unknown to Arrillaga, whose ideas of right and wrong, if ever in the balance, had long since been mentally card-indexed and filed, a new and very upsetting influence was at work. His most cherished convictions were being uncereemoniously jostled; and Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga, the governor, was puzzled!

Rezánov, at the *presidio* daily, a visitor at the house of the *comandante*, where he soon became very intimate, must have been able, from the very nature of the situation, to dispense with the Latin tongue and the aid of a friar as interpreter in order to play a part in a drama being lived by the players, in which the *dramatis personæ* were: the governor, the *comandante*, the friars—all Spaniards;—Rezánov, a Russian, a widower, forty-two years old, a finished man of the great world far away from the crude little

settlement, a diplomat—the hero; and, playing opposite, Concepción Argüello, the little sixteen-year-old daughter of the *comandante*.

Even though fluent in French, a linguist, the author of a Japanese lexicon, Rezánov must have acquired the ability to converse in Spanish with phenomenal celerity. Something more was needed than the universal language of love—for the man of the world and the *ingénue* loved one another; the drama was intricate and the plot was made up of many things.

Rezánov was becoming daily more and more uneasy. A rumor of war between Russia and Spain, which might be confirmed at any moment, was very disconcerting, and the arrival of a vessel belonging to either country would greatly complicate his plans. He had sincerely very much at heart—and as speedily as might be—relief for his countrymen in the far north.

Love-making went on, in the Spanish way, under the eyes of the whole family; but, evidently, all were blind, for none suspected; and when the Russian asked of the parents the hand of his girl sweetheart in marriage, the *dénouement* was complete!

Not only was there great opposition but there were other difficulties: The two were not of the same religion, for one thing; and, for another, the consent of the tsar must be obtained. But Rezánov was equal to the occasion and decided that both of these matters might be arranged. He, himself, would go to Russia, obtain the consent of the tsar to the marriage and, armed with that and permission from the King of Spain, would secure a dispensation from the pope.

Youth, beauty, and Doña Concepción, Rezánov and that adept in removing obstacles, the little love god, proved too strong a combination against parental objection, half removed ere the siege was begun; and the consent and

blessing of Don José Darío and Doña Ignacia Moraga were given. Rezánov, admired before, was now taken to their hearts, and became as one of themselves.

“‘From this time,’ he writes, ‘I managed this port of his Catholic Majesty as my interests required. The governor was very much astonished to see Don José intrust me with the most private affairs of his household, and to find himself all at once, so to speak, my guest’ ” (*ibid.*).

Full of interest are the many quotations from various sources, especially those from Langsdorff's *Voyage* and Rezánov's letters, in text and footnotes, with comments and conclusions, furnished by Bancroft, who himself says: “It was not, however, until all other expedients had failed, that Rezánov pressed his suit so far as to propose marriage, and herein lies the evidence that rather unpleasantly merges the lover into the diplomat.”

In part, at least, Bancroft bases this opinion upon one of Rezánov's letters, from which he quotes, in a note, in substantiating his statement, as follows: “‘Seeing that my situation was not improving, expecting every day that some misunderstanding would arise, and having but little confidence in my own people, I resolved to change my politeness for a serious tone. Finally I imperceptibly created in her an impatience to hear something serious from me on the subject, which caused me to ask for her hand, to which she consented. My proposal created consternation in her parents, who had been reared in fanaticism; the difference in religion and the prospective separation from their daughter made it a terrible blow for them. They ran to the missionaries, who did not know what to do; they hustled poor Concepcion to church, confessed her, and urged her to refuse me, but her resoluteness finally overcame them all. The holy fathers appealed to the decision of the throne of Rome, and if I could not accomplish my nuptials, I had

at least the preliminary act performed, the marriage contract drawn up, and forced them to betroth us.' ”

While no marriage could, at that time, take place under all the circumstances of Church and State, the marriage contract was signed and Baron Nikolái Petróvich de Rezánov and Señorita Doña María de la Concepción Marcela Argüello were formally betrothed.

(The friars reluctantly acceded to this, on condition that the betrothal be kept secret, pending the pope's approval.)

“On his return to St. Petersburg, as Langsdorff tells us,” says Bancroft, “Rezánov proposed to go to Madrid as envoy extraordinary of the Russian court, to remove all misunderstanding between the two powers. Thence he would return by way of Mexico to San Francisco to claim his bride.”

The Argüellos made common cause with Rezánov in his unremitting efforts to convince Arrillaga; and the friars, eager to dispose of their grain in exchange for the very desirable cargo brought by the *Juno*, did what they could along the same lines.

Some arrangement must be made that would not weigh too heavily on the consciences of all—and not at all on that of the oblivious Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga—by which the cargo might become foodstuffs for the Russian American colonies and the Spanish law against trade remain intact!

It was a difficult problem and the governor was beset with suggestions as to ways and means.

But, at last, a way was found, and the governor's consent was secured—on the ground of humanity, perhaps, for by this time he knew the whole story. As to details of the transaction, in substance the same but varying somewhat in different accounts, a petition was to be presented to the

governor, duly signed, in which the need in Alta California of the merchandise in the hold of the *Juno* was to be set forth; the governor was then, in view of this need, to purchase the cargo for cash; that being done, the commissary on board the vessel (Rezánov's name was not to appear) was to purchase, also for cash, the sorely needed foodstuffs from the friars. The money thus received would then be returned to the governor, and no one's reputation would be defiled.

The matter was thus arranged, and the cargo on board the *Juno* was discharged and a new one taken on.

On May 21, the *Juno* sailed away, saluting and being accorded a salute as the fort was passed, and, after a stormy voyage, arrived at Sitka on the 19th of June.

In September, Rezánov set out across Siberia on his way overland to St. Petersburg, which he was never to reach; for, after several illnesses en route and a fall from his horse, he died at Krasnoyarsk, on March 1, 1807.

Nothing was heard of this in Alta California, and Doña Concepción was long in doubt as to the fate of her distinguished lover; but was never in doubt as to him, her faith never waning.

A member of the Third Order of Franciscans, she donned, after a time, the habit of a nun and, there being no convents in the province, became a *beata*, caring for the sick and going about among the poor, doing good. But when a Dominican sisterhood was founded at Monterey, she entered it as Sister María Dominica, going later to the Convent of Santa Catarina of Siena, at Benicia. And there she died on Christmas Eve of the year 1857—the young girl of our story now grown old—freed at last from all the emotions by which she had been torn.

Clad in the white robes of the order, surrounded by the beautiful symbolism of her faith, she was borne to the

little cemetery of the convent, where a simple cross of brown stone marks her resting place.

Historians, perforce without sentiment—an historian with sentiment would be an anomaly and no historian—have more than hinted that, had he lived, Nikolái Petróvich de Rezánov, chamberlain to the tsar, privy councilor, one of the ten barons of Russia, would never have returned.

Why raise the question? It can never be answered! No true Californian wishes to think of Concepción Argüello, the heroine of song and story, who has given us the great romance of that period, as a beautiful pawn in the game of statecraft. Let us keep our romance!

In seeking to discover the chemical composition of the perfume of a rose, the rose itself is destroyed.

XXXVI

Even before leaving Sitka on March 8, 1806, on the voyage to the south, Rezánov had clearly defined ideas for a much more comprehensive plan than merely establishing trade relations with Spain on the Pacific: no less, in fact, than the ultimate wresting from Spain of her possessions on the entire coast. "In a letter to the company dated New Archangel, Feb. 15, 1806, and marked 'secret,' Rezánov, after recommending a settlement on the Columbia and an approach thence to San Francisco Bay, 'which forms the boundary of California,' . . . goes on to say: 'If we can only obtain the means for the beginning of this plan, . . . we should become strong enough to make use of any favorable turn in European politics to include the coast of California in the Russian possessions . . . The Spaniards are very weak in these countries . . .'" (Bancroft, note).

On the voyage southward, the *Juno* made repeated attempts to enter the Columbia River for the purpose of taking possession, but failed because the men were so weak from famine and so ill from scurvy that they could not manage the ship.

Upon Rezánov's return from San Francisco, his enthusiasm was soon shared by Baránov, who decided to send out an exclusively Russian fur-gathering expedition which was also to make explorations and look for a site for the first settlement.

An expedition of two vessels, commanded by Iván Aleksándrovich Kuskóv, an officer of the company, sailed in October, 1808. One of the two, the *Nikolái*, was wrecked; the other, the *Kadiak*, with Kuskóv on board, arrived safely at Bodega Bay, on January 8, 1809.

Friendly relations were established with the Indians. Explorations were made and some of the Aleuts with the expedition carried their *bidarkas* overland and industriously hunted otter in San Francisco Bay.

Among the crew of the *Juno* were several men who had wished to remain in California, and, to prevent their disappearing and leaving the ship short-handed, Rezánov had had them confined on an island in the bay. Two of these—Americans—were on the *Kadiak*, and they with some others deserted, carrying news of Russian activities at Bodega to the Presidio of San Francisco, to which some of them had been sent after they had put in an appearance at San José where they had been thrown into jail.

Not until August 29 did the *Kadiak* sail out of the harbor—homeward bound.

Luis Antonio Argüello, now lieutenant, became *comandante* of the Presidio of San Francisco on August 5, 1806, succeeding his father, Brevet Captain Don José Darío Argüello, who, later, was made *comandante* at Santa Bárbara and promoted to a captaincy.

Gabriel Moraga followed Luis Argüello as company *alférez*, while Manuel Rodríguez became captain of the San Francisco company but was never there as such, for, being a skilled accountant, he was detailed as *habilitado general* for the province in Mexico.

During that year, the depleted ranks were filled to the full quota of seventy men, including mission guards.

For several years, paper had been wasted—wasted because so few results had materialized from reports and correspondence as to the state of ruin into which buildings at the Presidio of San Francisco had fallen. Material used and plans of construction were basic factors but were not alone responsible for the dilapidation, for many other things had contributed: In February, 1802, a hurricane had hurled itself at the man-made things; and in 1804, in January and

again in November, the elements ran riot and laid low the palisades at the battery of Yerba Buena.

While, in 1805, Fort San Joaquín had been surrounded by a stone wall on three sides with palisades on the fourth, it had been effected by using Indian captives as laborers—and not a *peso* the less in the *caja real* because of it.

On June 21, 1808, a series of earthquakes began. On July 17, the *comandante* notified the governor that there had been seventeen to date; that there had been much damage to the buildings; and that at Fort San Joaquín, should the shocks continue, he feared for the safety of the troops stationed there.

In due course of perfunctory official routine, this information was passed on to the viceroy; but, in a conversation with the *comandante*, whose house had been cracked from roof to mudsill, Arrillaga, who must have become inured, in some way, to these disturbances, told Don Luis to go home, repair his house in readiness for winter—and to think no more of such trifles as earthquakes! However, his conscience must have pricked him because of his lack of sympathy with the woes of the *comandante*, for he followed his advice with a present of a box of dates.

Spain was very far away and—with a barrier between, the viceroyalty, always the intermediary—was, in Alta California, more an idea than a reality.

On March 19, 1808, Carlos IV abdicated in favor of his son, Fernando VII.

In February, 1809, news of the abdication and succession reached Monterey and orders from the viceroy were received by Arrillaga to proclaim the new king. On March 5, troops at *presidios*, *pueblos*, and missions were drawn up in line, under arms, and "*Viva el rey nuestro y señor natural*

Don Fernando! [Long live our king and natural lord Don Ferdinand!]" rang out. Each time, the answer came clear and strong from all the men together: "*Viva el rey nuestro y señor natural Don Fernando!*"

On the same day, masses were celebrated in all the churches and salutes boomed forth at *presidios* and forts.

Again orders came from Mexico; and, in accordance therewith, on August 10, at Mission San Carlos at Carmelo, in the presence of Padre Presidente Tapis and Padres Amorós and Sarriá, Surgeon Quijano and Alférez Estrada, Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga—the governor—with one hand on the holy gospels, holding up with the other the cross of his sword, knelt before the crucifix like some knight of old and swore allegiance to his "king and natural lord Don Fernando VII."

Shortly after the abdication and succession, Napoleon created his brother, Joseph, King of Spain and the Indies; and Spain became a whirlpool of indignation and uprisings. Nothing more, in that connection, is necessary to a clear understanding of our subject. But—with the invasion of Spain by Napoleon—spreading from that vortex in ever widening circles, effects in Spanish colonies were of a somewhat different nature, bringing opportunity and incentive, and transforming latent into active dissatisfactions. On the political shore of the far outlying province, however, ripples were so faint that no flotsam of unrest came with them.

Alta California was absolutely loyal to Spain—without mental reservation. The viceroyalty meant Spain. Orders from the viceroy meant orders from the king; and the king—even then, to all intents, a prisoner of state—was Fernando VII—and not Joseph Bonaparte.

One might stop at that, were it not for a sequence of events in the viceroyalty—in which Alta California took

no active part—leading up to results in which the province participated.

In the little town of Dolores, Intendencia of Guanajuato, was a parish priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a true son of New Spain, with the good of the land of his birth close to his heart. Possessed of initiative, by nature progressive, he strove to better the condition of his flock. But all was not as peaceful as it reads, for he was very daring in these endeavors, introducing the silk industry—forbidden by law—and encouraging his parishioners to plant olives and vines, which—as he well knew—were monopolies of the mother country.

This became known at the capital and, moreover, was not his first offense.

Hidalgo was a graduate of the University of Mexico, receiving his bachelor's degree at the age of seventeen, lecturing afterward on philosophy and theology at the College of San Nicolás, in Valladolid, where, after his ordination at twenty-five, he served for a time as rector, but later as parish priest at San Felipe, Colima, and elsewhere.

He was very advanced in his ideas and, as a priest, was looked upon as unorthodox and was believed to be greatly influenced by French thought even to the point of being revolutionary in his tendencies. In 1800, he was called before the Inquisition, accused of all manner of evil things: heretical teachings, gambling, profligacy, and the reading of prohibited books. The case was dismissed for want of evidence, but the *dossier* was filed.

For a time, he was a priest without a parish, but in 1803, upon the death of his brother, he succeeded him as parish priest at Dolores. When his activities there were brought to the attention of the government, agents were sent who felled the forbidden trees and uprooted the

interdicted vines. The old charges were reviewed and, several times, witnesses testified against him before the Inquisition. That terrifying body now lacked its erstwhile relentless vigor; and the case languished but did not die.

Hidalgo was far from being alone in his revolutionary inclinations. Indeed, he had much company. Political restlessness was everywhere, of many merging varieties, ranging from a vague, nameless undercurrent of discontent to factions and properly designated parties—each faction with its aspirations, each racial mixture with its own heart-burnings.

There were the creoles—meaning, in this limited connection, persons born in New Spain, both of whose parents were Spanish—always clamoring for equal rights, many being loyalists, that is to say, still loyal to Ferdinand VII and the Bourbons, but absolutely opposed to the viceroyalty being included within the Napoleonic governmental framework set up in Spain. Hidalgo was a creole.

There were the *mestizos*, offspring of Spanish fathers and Indian mothers, usually illegitimate,—with ideas and ideals to be reckoned with.

The *gachupines*—wearers of spurs—were, strictly speaking, Spaniards born in Spain, the ruling class, fathers of creoles and *mestizos*, and the object of especial dislike.

The trend of the clergy, especially in the provincial towns, was toward the Independentist party, but, to all the clericals, anything was better than a Napoleonic government.

And back of all was the Indian population, whose hearts pulsed with a vindictive, undying hatred of the Spaniard.

In Querétaro, there was a so-called literary society which was beginning to be suspected of revolutionary tendencies. Among the members were the *corregidor*—magistrate—Miguel Domínguez; his wife, Doña Josefa María Ortiz; and Captain Ignacio Allende, an officer of the Spanish army, born at San Miguel el Grande (now San Miguel de

Allende), who is credited with being the organizer, and with whom Hidalgo had been in communication.

In 1808, he joined the group and became the chief conspirator—for the literary and social club of Querétaro was a screen around a conspiracy in process of incubation, slated, in 1810, to appear in the open, full-fledged, on December 8 of that year, at the time of the annual fair of San Juan de los Lagos, in the form of a general uprising of the people, with Guanajuato as headquarters.

Cognizant of all this, having, early in August, wrung a full confession from several members of the organization, the government made no move in the matter until, on September 13, the *corregidor* was forced—perhaps as a test—to arrest Epigmenio González, in whose house were stored large quantities of arms and ammunition belonging to the revolutionists; whereupon Doña Josefa María promptly warned Captain Allende of the *dénouement*.

Don Miguel, the *corregidor*, and Doña Josefa María, the *corregidora*, were thrown into jail but were soon released, the authorities choosing to make light of their connection with the matter.

Almost at horse-killing speed—*á mata caballo*—on the night of September 15, Allende rode to Dolores, waking the priest out of his sleep to tell him what had been brought about.

Preparations for revolution were well under way but, as yet, no organized coöperation had been arranged. Nothing was ready. Nevertheless, for Hidalgo—implicated as he was—the revolutionary movement had begun. For him, there could be no standing still; there was no retreat and but one course was possible. And, on the next morning at daybreak—September 16, 1810—Miguel Hidalgo rang the bell of the little church, summoning the people, and proclaimed the revolution.

El Grito de Dolores, invoking the assistance of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*—Our Lady of Guadalupe—patroness

of the native population, became the battle cry, and was taken by Hidalgo for the rallying shout.

The march to San Miguel, some twenty miles distant, where arms and ammunition were to be procured, was begun. At Atotonilco, a banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe was taken possession of and adopted as the standard of the revolution; adherents to the cause gathered rapidly; and, in an incredibly short time, fifty thousand Indians followed unquestioningly where it led.

At San Miguel, Allende, at the head of his regiment, joined forces, but, despite his military training and experience, Hidalgo was chosen commander. And now, with a horde of Indians, bent on destruction and aflame with the thought of loot, at his heels, this leader without military training who had been plunged into a military campaign in the middle of the night; this promoter of a new government with no knowledge of statecraft; this priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, went forth to meet his fate!

Captain Allende justly felt that his education, as soldier and officer, should be taken into consideration; that some deference should be shown to his ideas in regard to military discipline and the management of troops; but Hidalgo conceded little to the judgment of the other, and the seeds of dissension were sown.

With differences between them from the beginning, later, officer and priest were entirely at outs. But, through it all, Allende kept faith, loyal to Hidalgo and to the cause.

On September 18, the revolutionists set out from San Miguel. Celayo was captured and was not pillaged, but the Indians, held in check, were very restive.

The march was resumed and a movement toward the capital was begun.

Details have no place in a résumé such as this—merely an illuminating insert—presenting only the principal par-

ticipants in the main sequence—an exemplification taken from the interwoven events, neither a beginning nor a culmination.

At Guanajuato, the capital of the *intendencia*, the *intendente*, who had refused to surrender—fearing the Indian hordes could not be controlled—had gathered the entire Spanish population in the Alhóndiga de Granaditas—the Municipal Granary—hoping to hold this makeshift fort against the rebels until help could arrive.

Fighting commenced. The *intendente* was killed. The doors were burned and the place captured. Slaughter began and was consummated. None, not Allende, not Hidalgo, could stay the orgy of butchery indulged in by the Indians. Not a Spaniard was spared, not even one of those who had surrendered!

Guadalajara was easily taken. At Guanajuato, a form of government had been set up; and Hidalgo assumed the title of "Captain General of America."

With a force numbering eighty thousand, the advance was continued; but the capital, their objective from the first, was never reached. Yet, in October, they were near enough and—although there had been defeats—they had been successful enough to create uneasiness and to cause the viceroy, Venegas, to make ready for flight to Vera Cruz!

Reënforcements were expected but had not arrived. Allende was all for a quick descent upon the city; Hidalgo, against it—not wishing to be caught between two fires. There were vacillations; and there were, of course, penalties paid to Ignorance.

Hidalgo's envoys to the viceroy got off rather well, being simply ordered out of the city and warned that if they did not go at once they would be shot as traitors!

Practically—the advance on the capital had been accomplished. For some reason which must have been convinc-

ing to him, Hidalgo struck no blow; but, instead, turned his forces about and marched them away toward Querétaro. And, as the distance from the capital, which had held out such bright prospects of loot, increased, the size of the "patriot army" diminished.

To cut the story: Querétaro was not reached, and cannon, ammunition, and many supplies had been lost in an effort to avoid an encounter with Calleja, but, from Valladolid, where he had recruited his forces and manufactured ammunition, Hidalgo had gone to Guadalajara. He was very popular there and set about organizing a government. He was joined in December by Allende, who had been routed out of Guanajuato by Calleja. But their prospects were very bright, their forces again at the maximum and somewhat disciplined. They had cannon and, lacking small arms, had manufactured large quantities of hand grenades; and new revolutionary territory had been acquired.

Calleja was now approaching, and with him were some six thousand thoroughly trained troops.

Allende's plan was to send out successive detachments to attack him. Hidalgo determined on one grand coup and to concentrate their entire strength for one killing blow. And this they did, meeting Calleja and his handful at the Puente de Calderon, about twelve leagues out of the city, on January 17, 1811.

The battle lasted but six hours, resulting in the complete defeat of the revolutionary forces. That is the way it reads and that is the way it was. But—Calleja and his six thousand men, who won the day, did not defeat Hidalgo and his eighty thousand men who lost the day. Fire—the fortunes of war—put them to rout.

Everything had been progressing marvelously well. Hidalgo's plan was about to succeed—Calleja was on the verge of defeat—when the explosion of an ammunition wagon, into which a bomb had fallen, set fire to the dry

grass in front of the revolutionary forces, compelling a retreat and stampeding them with smoke and flame!

Scattered, they fled in disorderly confusion toward Zacatecas.

Hidalgo, constrained by his officers, virtually their prisoner and no longer permitted to take part in their councils, now turned the command over to Allende. His leadership had been short—just one day more than four months.

Allende now continued on beyond Zacatecas to Saltillo, proceeding toward Texas, despatching, in advance, Ignacio Aldama and Juan Salazar, a priest, to see what might be done there. But, in Texas, his emissaries were captured, sent to Monclova, and shot.

Meanwhile, a creole lieutenant colonel, Ignacio Elizondo, had turned traitor, principally because of jealousy; and, prompted by "envy, hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness" toward his brother officers, did a despicable thing:

Allende, on the march, proceeding on his way, unsuspecting of treachery, his straggling forces numbering less than five thousand men, would be obliged to stop at the wells of Acatita de Bajan—and there, Elizondo lay in wait for him.

Coming up, at sixes and sevens, group after group fell into the trap and, with almost no resistance, were captured. After Hidalgo was taken prisoner, a trifling scrimmage ended the matter.

Hidalgo, Allende, and several others were sent, for trial, across the two hundred miles of desert to Chihuahua, the capital of the *comandancia general*.

Allende and Jiménez, after court-martial, were shot in the back as traitors.

A double punishment awaited Hidalgo. Disgraced as a priest, degraded from the priesthood, he was then turned over to the authorities, who ordered him shot as a rebel.

And, on July 31, 1811, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the patriot-priest, with courage unbroken, paid the great penalty.

The severed heads of Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama, and Jiménez were taken to Guanajuato and exposed in iron cages at the four corners of the Alhóndiga de Granaditas, as a warning of what might be expected should others follow in their blood-stained footsteps.

The warning was not heeded, for José María Morelos y Pavón, born near Apatzangan, Michoacán, a *mestizo*, a graduate of San Nicolás College, Valladolid, another priest, with remarkable military ability, who had joined Hidalgo in 1810, carried on.

Despite a crushing defeat at Cuautla (now Morelos), on November 2, 1812, his forces, in 1813, overran Mexico, and, in the south, he convened a congress and issued a constitution. But, on November 5, 1815, Morelos was captured. He, too, was twice condemned. (Drawn, in part, from Priestley.)

Janvier, in writing of the Inquisition in Mexico, says "that the last notable *auto de fé* (November 26, 1815) was that at which the accused was the patriot Morelos. The finding against him was a foregone conclusion. 'The Presbítero José Maria Morelos,' declared the inquisitors, 'is an unconfessed heretic (*hereje formal negativo*), an abettor of heretics, and a disturber of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; a profaner of the holy sacraments; a traitor to God, to the King, and to the Pope.' For which sins he was 'condemned to do penance in a penitent's dress' . . . and was surrendered to the tender mercies of the secular arm. He was shot, December 22, 1815." To the end, Morelos was true to himself and his ideals. His courage never weakened and no retraction ever passed his lips.

XXXVII

The early history of Alta California is like a welded chain of events from which no single link may be removed without disrupting the chain itself.

When caravels felt their way over uncharted waters along an unknown coast, when every *jornada* was an adventure, each detail was fraught with interest and importance; but with the passing of the years, values shifted. Therefore, it seems entirely possible from now on to generalize more, and, at the same time, to present an accurate historical narrative with the continuity maintained and the interest for the reader preserved.

The reader who is also a writer, to whom, as part of his mental equipment, every available detail—every historical hairsplitting—has its uses, seeks them in original sources: in monographs or in the works of historians who have specialized in a broader way or brought new material to light; in the historian's history, the many volumes of Bancroft, in text and footnotes, extracts from manuscripts in collections and archives; and revels in details for which, in a one-volume history, there is neither need nor space—nor would they be interesting.

The narrow strip of coast where waved the flag of Spain, and where the Spaniards had planted their vines and fig trees, had a very uncertain background.

Until well along in the nineteenth century, the great mysterious inland valley lying behind the Coast Range was still almost as much an unknown world as it had been in the time of the early explorers: Rivera, Ortega, Fages,

Anza, Moraga, and Garcés, who had made good beginnings and that was all.

According to the season and the locality of the *entrada*, it had meant to one—having a bird's-eye view from the top of a high hill—a network of rivers; to another, a vast waterless plain lying under an uncomfortably hot sun; to another, *tulares* and lakes: disconnected information detached from any whole, like a great patchwork quilt in process of making and not quite put together. Even the more recent Pedro Amador and Padre Juan Martín, who had conducted, without leave or license, an expedition all his own, Alférez José Joaquín Maitorena and the various corporals, sergeants, and lieutenants brought back only detached bits from their sallies. Nothing systematic had been accomplished.

A growing menace in the Indian situation brought the need for more missions farther inland, outposts—the Cross with the Sword behind it—crowding back the less amenable of the aborigines, a barrier between them and Spanish coast settlements.

In order to found more missions, sites had to be sought and explorations made, in which some, not all, of the secrets of the great valley, its rivers and its environments of mountains, were revealed. Most active in this, going hither and yon, penetrating the interior in many directions, following rivers to their sources and naming them, was Gabriel Moraga—systematic and indefatigable—famous as an Indian fighter, a son of the founder of San Francisco.

Alta California Indians, although not warlike after the manner of the Apaches and Seris, were troublesome, necessitating constant vigilance, especially in the north where they were more daring than in the south.

Sons of officers and men coming with the *expedición santa* and with Anza, and of those who had been sent on in advance by Rivera from the Río Colorado, were now active in military affairs, and some of them had more than won

their spurs in fights with the Indians; and among them, Gabriel Moraga was preëminent.

Many mission Indians had become expert horsemen, and fleeting neophytes, answering the call of the wild, as they still did, could, oftentimes, ride away, taking cattle and other horses along. They had, also, learned to use firearms and were imparting these accomplishments to the *gentilidad*, who were becoming correspondingly more dangerous.

Pursuit of the runaways and their capture by the soldiers—a stop-gap—and raids upon the *rancherías* of their unregenerate friends, outside the pale of the missions, were inadequate to meet the situation. Occasionally, real punishment, such as would not soon be forgotten, was administered.

For several years, the Indians in the Suisun region had been aggressive, making depredations and killing neophytes, sixteen from the mission at Dolores being among their victims.

In May, 1810, which was a year of unpleasant activity among the Indians, Alférez Gabriel Moraga was sent in command of a punitive expedition of seventeen men against them. Crossing Carquinez Strait, some one hundred and twenty natives were encountered. During the fight, eighteen were captured but so badly wounded that Moraga released them to die. The rest retired to three *jacales*, and in two of them all were killed, the third being set on fire in order to drive the occupants out into the open, but the Indians remained where they were and perished in the flames.

Royal orders, forwarded by the viceroy, under date of November 12 of the next year, 1811, brought commendation and a brevet lieutenancy to Moraga; and others taking part were rewarded in various ways.

In Indian warfare, as in exploration, Moraga was in a class by himself. There were, at that time, other Indian fighters, other explorers, valiant men, but Moraga stands

out from all the rest while they take their respective places in the general scheme of things.

Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, "the son of his father," was, on his own account, a dashing and fascinating figure as seen through this perspective.

According to Fray Zephyrin Engelhardt, our authority in these affairs, the decade just prior to this time, from 1800 to 1810, was the "Golden Age of the California missions."

There had been time for results to begin to appear, and the uninterrupted rule of Arrillaga during these years had been conducive to peace and plenty. Arrillaga was decidedly *persona grata* with the missionaries, coöperating in temporal affairs connected with the missions wherever possible, and not interfering in the slightest way with the purely spiritual. He had followed, perhaps without knowing of their existence, the instructions given more than thirty years before to his predecessor, the fiery Don Pedro Fages, "to preserve harmony with the Missionary Fathers, and to let them freely perform their apostolic work . . . in order to keep the missionaries in the tranquillity which they desire"

On January 14, 1811, Padre Fray Francisco Dumetz passed away. He was a native of Mallorca. He had been in the province for almost forty years, was the oldest of the missionaries, and the last of Serra's companions. Padre Dumetz had served at five of the missions, twice at San Fernando and twice at San Gabriel, where he died and was buried.

1812 was "*el año de los temblores*" and might well be so called because of a long series of earthquakes, beginning on the morning of Sunday, December 8, and lasting many months, extending from San Diego to Purísima Concepción.

The first shock was felt at San Gabriel at sunrise, taking off part of the tower and cracking the building. At San Juan Capistrano, all were at mass. The great tower fell on the vaulted roof of masonry, which gave way, falling in on the assembled congregation. The *padre* and six neophytes escaped through the sacristy door; all the rest—more than forty persons—were killed. This was the finest structure in California, and faulty construction, more than the severity of the shock, was responsible for the fatalities.

Shocks from time to time were recorded at other missions. Before January 1, there were three so severe at San Buenaventura that, fearing a tidal wave, the whole population fled to the interior, not returning until April. The entire façade of the church had to be replaced. The record-breaking day seems to have been January 21 of that year, 1813. The first felt at Santa Bárbara, or the first severe one, would seem to have occurred on that day, when new springs of asphaltum—*chapapote*—bubbled up. The sea was troubled and cracks in the *sierra* were reported. These earthquakes and demonstrations continued; dwellings were shunned, all living in the open air for many months.

On the same day, January 21, at Santa Inés, the corner of the church fell. At Purísima, a shock which lasted for four minutes was so violent that it was difficult to stand; and, half an hour later, another, still more severe, brought down the church and other buildings. Destruction was complete when the waterworks burst and rain fell!

In order clearly to understand who was who in mission affairs—and why—an explanation at this point is quite necessary, and will simplify matters later. Owing, perhaps, to enormously increased “temporalities,” a change was now effected in their management, which curtailed, but in certain directions only, the power of the *presidente*. At an election held on the 13th of July, 1812, at the College of

San Fernando, in Mexico, a *comisario prefecto*, as well as a *presidente*, was elected.

The *comisario prefecto* was the delegate or representative of the Franciscan *comisario general* of the Indies, in Madrid; was *comisario* of the Inquisition as well; and had full control of all business matters pertaining to the missions. In these things, he was the superior, or prelate of the *presidente*. On the other hand, as a missionary, the *presidente* was responsible to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, and reported directly to him; and was the bishop's vicar in matters ecclesiastical. That is the way it reads to a layman, and it does not seem in the least complicated. After it went into effect it worked very smoothly, for there was never any clash.

In November of the same year, the result of the election was announced in California, the *discretos* of the college having elected Vicente Sarría, *comisario prefecto*, and José Francisco de Paula Señan, *presidente*, " 'religioso de ciencia, prudencia, y experiencia' " (Bancroft), to succeed Estévan Tapis.

Señan, who also received his appointment as vicar, took up the duties of his office in December, but continued to reside at San Buenaventura. He was a Catalan, a native of Barcelona; and became a Franciscan at the age of fourteen. He was the last one left of the friars who had arrived in the province prior to 1790.

It was not until July of the next year, 1813, that Padre Sarría announced his assumption of the office to which he had been elected. There was much traveling in connection with his work, but Mission San Carlos at Carmelo was his headquarters.

In the same year, on September 13, "the *córtes* of Spain passed a decree to the effect that all missions in America that had been founded ten years should at once be given up to the bishop 'without excuse or pretext whatever, in accordance with the laws.' It was provided that friars might

be appointed if necessary as temporary curates, and that one or two might remain in each district where they had convents and had been serving as curates; but with these few and temporary exceptions they must move on to new conversions, and must at once yield the management of temporalities, the mission lands having to be reduced to private ownership, and the neophytes to be governed by their ayuntamientos and the civil authorities" (Bancroft).

Missions were not intended to be permanent. The name itself seems to carry with it the idea of *propaganda fide* and not the established church. In theory, at the end of the stipulated time, ten years, the missionaries should so successfully have instructed the converts that they could be delivered over to the regular secular clergy for spiritual guidance and would, at the same time, be ready to take their places as citizens under the civil authorities.

In Alta California, however, where the good work had gone on for forty-four years, the Indians had certainly attained no such condition; and the missions had taken on a permanency foreign to the idea. The friars had never been approached on the subject of secularization; and the fact that the bishop had no curates to send (of which the friars were fully aware) must have added a great sense of security.

It is possible that secularizing the missions in the province had not, during that time, been seriously contemplated, for although this decree, "perfectly in accord with Spanish law and policy, applied to the missions of California and of all America . . . there was no attempt to enforce it in California, where it was not officially published as a law, and perhaps not even known, for eight years" (*ibid.*).

Fur gathering, playing havoc with the fur-bearing animals on the coast of the Californias, and fur trading—smuggling—continued.

We have a clear idea of this trade carried on by the "Yankee captains," some of them with contracts with the Russian American Company, bringing expert Aleut hunters with their *bidarkas* to do the actual ruthless slaughter; and of the thousands of dollars' worth of skins, taken north and to China, without one *peso* of revenue to Spain. Therefore, it is unnecessary to note the repeated visits of the *O'Cain*, *Albatross*, and similar vessels, commanded by the Winships and others, unless in some special connection.

The seizure, in 1813, of the *Mercury*—Captain George Washington Eayrs—of Boston, by the *Flora*, a Spanish vessel from Lima—Captain Nicolás Noé—off El Rufugio, that haven for smugglers, has made her more conspicuous historically than others of her kind.

Spain had, it appears, years before, in a communication to the United States, protested against the sending of American trading vessels to the Californias. But the statements made by the *Mercury's* commander reveal, in remarkably bad English, that to *padres* and people, in this revolutionary period, at least, with the consequent cutting off of supplies, they were welcome visitors.

The *Mercury*, after investigation by Argüello under orders from Arrillaga, was found to be a *contrabandista* and, later, both she and her commander were sent to San Blas. The matter languished for years and the final outcome is not very well authenticated.

Now, as to the new exclusively Russian venture: Not having been able the year before to accomplish the contemplated return, Kuskóv, representing the Russian American Fur Company, was, on March 4, 1811, again at Bodega Bay, having been despatched from Sitka by Baránov, on board the *Chirikov*, on the 2d of February. Soon Aleuts in *bidarkas* were busily engaged in hunting otter in San Francisco Bay; while Kuskóv was just as busily engaged in establishing, on a permanent basis, the already

friendly relations with the aborigines. The Russians had been very liberal with small gifts and beads, but, in addition to that, the natives themselves understood well the advantage of having them as allies, standing between them and the Spaniards—friends of other Indians, their enemies—toward whom there was a strong feeling of hostility.

Whether it was at this time or later, there was some kind of ceding of territory, and the price paid the Indians, according to Payéras, who was given the information direct a year or so afterward, "was three blankets, three pairs of breeches, two axes, three hoes, and some beads" (*ibid.*).

To the Russians, the territory north of the bay of San Francisco was "New Albion," and there was no recognition of Spanish occupation. The Aleuts brought by Kuskóv were joined by others from the *Albatross* and *Isabella*, and the share of the Kuskóv party that season was twelve hundred skins. Obtaining a supply of sea-lion meat from the Farallones, Kuskóv took his departure on July 1, arriving at Sitka on August 8.

Kuskóv, in the *Chírikov*, was again sent south by Baránov with the entire paraphernalia for the founding of a settlement in New Albion. This seems to have been in the spring of 1812. About one hundred men of Russian blood, twenty-five being mechanics, and eighty Aleuts were sent. San Francisco Bay was not to be the scene of the otter hunt at this time, and the Aleuts in their *bidarkas* were put to work along the coast.

Weak as were the Spanish forces, it was evident that the Russian American Fur Company's expedition was to be installed, if possible, before the Spaniards were cognizant of their return. While the Aleuts were making their catch, the Russians were preparing timber at the site chosen for the settlement, about eighteen miles farther up the coast than Bodega and about eight or ten miles beyond the mouth of the Slavianska—the Russian River.

A fairly level strip of land had been selected, more than a square mile in extent, overhanging the sea, averaging seventy feet above the water line, the entire coast frontage being a precipice. The back was almost equally well protected by a network of ravines, with just one way in.

When the redwoods, of which everything was to be constructed, had been felled, the Aleuts were recalled to assist the artisans. Everything went forward so systematically and well that, in a few months, the settlement (more like a fortress than a fur-trading post) was complete. The stockade, pierced with loopholes, surrounding a quadrangle two hundred and fifty by three hundred feet, was built of heavy beams set upright, side by side, in the ground, with another laid along the top, bristling with sharp iron and wooden points. Cannon were mounted in the loopholed hexagonal towers at the corners. Within the enclosure were the commandant's house, with glass windows, and comfortably furnished; a chapel, which was also a defense tower, decorated with paintings; officers' quarters, barracks for the Russian employees, storehouses, and domestic offices. Some of the buildings were two stories, and there was a well for emergency use. Cannon on carriages, ready for use, were at convenient places.

They were now established in New Albion; and, as yet, no protest had come from the Spaniards, their neighbors in Alta California. However, the Spaniards knew, if not all, a very great deal, but were powerless to prevent what was going on.

Remembering good hunting, a few Aleuts had ventured into San Francisco Bay, and were seen by the *comandante*, Luis Argüello, himself, who sent out native scouts to find out from whence they had come. Returning, they reported a vessel on the beach north of Bodega.

This was in July; and on August 25, Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga was despatched to get at the bottom of it all. Moraga arrived, to find the Russian settlement an accom-

plished fact. He was courteously received, and saw much, so much that he was sent, directly upon his return, to report in person to the governor at Monterey.

Without an interpreter, communication had been difficult; but of this, the Russian chroniclers make no mention, contenting themselves with saying that Moraga inspected everything and had been given a full explanation of the company's plans. Moraga did understand, even without an interpreter, their keen desire for trade, their need of foodstuffs, and that they wished to barter merchandise of various kinds for grain, meat, and tallow. To Arrillaga, he reported that they had been at, and north of, Bodega, for five months; had built a fort; had artillery; and were there to stay.

On September 10, just after Moraga's visit, the establishment was formally dedicated and named "Ross" (the root of the word Rossiia or, in English, Russia).

In the long ago, Russians were known as "people of Ross."

There was no spiritual side to the coming of the Russians. There was no Cross with the Sword behind it; no such complications as the conversion of the natives. It was strictly business. There were just two objects in the founding of Ross: fur gathering and trade with the Spaniards.

Conditions were peculiarly favorable to the Russians. Owing to the continued nonarrival of the transports with clothing and other necessities, resistance to the inducement offered by their new neighbors on the north, unhampered by laws against trade, was below normal in the Spaniards: Spain was a long way off; the intermediary, the viceroyalty, was otherwise occupied; their own need was very great; their women and children were in rags. Against such odds, human nature is not adamant. Conditions had to be met there—where they were—and not in Mexico or Spain!

No further explanation, and scarcely this, is necessary for what followed.

In January, 1813, Moraga was sent again to Ross, evidently for a *pourparler* on trade, taking with him, as a gift, twenty cattle and three horses. The Russian American Fur Company's proclamation of 1810, seeking to establish commercial relations with the Spaniards in the Californias, which was to have been used earlier, and which had been sent to Baja California and, it may be, also to Alta California, was shown him, and the details of the proposed plan explained.

The Russians state, and, says Bancroft, "There is no good reason to doubt the accuracy of the Russian statement," that Moraga had brought verbal announcement that Governor Arrillaga had consented to trade at that time; but that what might be done in the future would depend upon the decision of the viceroy. Goods were to be sent down in boats, but no vessel of the Russian American Company was to enter the ports of Alta California.

Moraga returned to San Francisco on the 27th, and a few days later was again despatched to report in person to the governor, and was, also, the bearer of a letter from Luis Argüello, telling him of the absolute destitution of the soldiers. This was a tremendously effective argument in favor of relief from any source, when used to one who was spoken of by his troops as "Papa Arrillaga."

Under date of February 4, the governor informed the viceroy of the result of Moraga's visits.

Meanwhile the verbal consent to an exchange of commodities, transmitted personally by Moraga, was productive of results, with relief for both parties to the transaction, Russians and Spaniards, the natural outcome of an unnatural situation, a condition so impossible that, of itself, it could not continue. There are no Spanish records to show that a cargo in boats, valued at fourteen thousand dollars, arrived at San Francisco, for which breadstuffs were

exchanged. There is no Spanish record, anywhere, to indicate that either governor or *comandante* consented at that time—or ever would consent—to trade, without being duly and properly authorized by the viceroy. It must have been that silence gave consent!

This was a beginning and trade continued between these provincial neighbors, very quietly, it is true, both carefully avoiding embroiling their respective governments—just a little friendly traffic outside the law. But, while it went on seemingly and almost quite openly, it had no place in official records.

The viceroy had already been informed, in a roundabout way, of the arrival of the Russians, and, suspecting an Anglo-American ruse, cautioned Arrillaga. In his reply of August 3 to the governor's letter, he enclosed the treaty between Russia and Spain, signed on July 20 of the preceding year. He wished Kuskóv warned that he was at Bodega in direct violation of the treaty, and was requested to remove his company's establishments before it became necessary to report the matter officially.

After the receipt of these communications, Moraga was, for the third time, the envoy, and was despatched to Ross in April, 1814, with Gervasio Argüello, another son of Don José Darío, as escort, with letters from Arrillaga to Kuskóv making known the viceroy's instructions.

Kuskóv could not reply officially; Baránov would have to be communicated with; nevertheless, in June, he wrote to Arrillaga that, notwithstanding Lieutenant Moraga's explanations, his letter had not been clearly understood—a threadbare excuse made use of by both Russians and Spaniards whenever it was convenient not to understand. Kuskóv was clearly "playing for time," and postponing the evil day of an issue in the matter, hoping that in some miraculous manner it might be averted. He made a formal demand for some Kadiak captives, who had sought shelter in the bay during a storm with no *ulterior motive* whatever;

and for some others who had deserted. He wrote that a certain tent had been left, at a former time, at San Francisco; and would Governor Arrillaga accept it as a gift? (The tent—diplomatically speaking—may have “been left,” but—literally—it had not “been left,” for it was sent to San Francisco at the same time as the letter!) Kuskóv wrote also to the *comandante*, enclosing a Spanish letter to be interpreted, as it could not be understood, and asked for the return of the Aleuts.

The viceroy's notification to the Russians to abandon Ross had no effect on illicit trade, the usual cargo being sent to San Francisco as though nothing had happened; and disposed of without trouble, under the protection of the *comandante* himself!

In June, 1814, while on a tour of inspection, Governor Arrillaga became ill. Earlier in the year, he had had malignant fever but, seemingly, had entirely recovered. Now, seriously ill, he turned in the hour of his need to his old friend, Fray Florencio Ybañez, going to Soledad to be cared for by him; and there he died on Sunday, July 24, at the age of sixty-four years.

According to the terms of his will, made only a short time before his death, he was to be buried at the mission where he might chance to die, shrouded in the habit of the Franciscan order. One hundred masses for the repose of his soul were to be said at each of the two missions, San Miguel and San Antonio, for which the sum of six hundred *pesos* was provided.

José Joaquín de Arrillaga, a noble by birth, was a native of Aya, Guipúzcoa, Spain. He never married. We read that he was tall and fair, with blue eyes; witty and frank in conversation; and, as an official, possessed of a becoming sternness considered by Spaniards essential.

It is not difficult to understand Arrillaga. He was not complex. His character, reflected in his acts and unblurred

by time, is clearly defined. He was an upright man; reliable; possessed of great perseverance—shown in the years of skillful work given to the untangling of California accounts; neglecting nothing in ordinary matters of routine. He either had little initiative or saw no need for it and followed orders as nearly to the letter as was possible. The record of José Joaquín de Arrillaga, from the beginning of his career is without blemish.

Promotion followed in its own natural order. There was no brilliant dash to fame. He had more ability than ambition; there is a certain apathy perceptible that is typically Spanish: an underlying even tenor in his rule, which has nothing to do with events—characteristic of the man himself; and his administration was so evenly, quietly good that it is lacking in brilliance and stamped with mediocrity.

Loyal to his country; a churchman, but no bigot; respected by the friars, but never *frailero*; a just disciplinarian, revered by his troops; loved by his friends and a welcome guest, he does not leave one cold, unresponsive, as did Neve, nor does he attract by the strength of an uneven personality, as did Fages.

Without any formal appointment, Captain José Darío Argüello, by seniority now became *interino*. He did not take up his official residence at Monterey during his brief term, but remained most of the time at Santa Bárbara. He was much less friendly with the new neighbors at Ross than had been Arrillaga or the *comandante* at San Francisco, his own son Luis, to whom indications point, if indications mean anything, as responsible, in the recent amelioration of conditions in both colonies, for the illicit—if one wishes to be literal and prosaic—interchange of commodities.

Among the meager records of Argüello's brief incumbency, his peremptory letter to Kuskóv early in 1815 stands out in high relief, in which, besides expressing surprise that

Arrillaga's letter of inquiry had not been answered, he informed him that, according to the viceroy's orders, if friendly relations were to be maintained between Spain and Russia, Ross must be abandoned. Kuskóv replied that orders would have to come from Baránov, his superior,—and trade continued.

This outburst on the part of the *interino* has been the subject of some speculation and has been accounted for in several and quite different ways, the most logical being that the viceroy's orders referred to by Argüello had just arrived and that they had not been taken to Ross by Moraga as has been stated—and this is borne out by the statements of the Russians; that Moraga had been the bearer of a preliminary letter of inquiry—Argüello's letter connotes this—as to the reason for the presence of the Russians, diplomatically leading up to a request to withdraw. This seems to be a reasonable interpretation.

Meanwhile, on the last day of the preceding year, December 31, 1814, Viceroy Calleja had appointed a successor to Arrillaga, a *propietario* for Alta California; and, at the same time, had appointed the *interino*, Captain Don José Darío Argüello, Governor of Baja California.

XXXVIII

Lieutenant Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, the new governor, was a native of Spain, a Basque, as were his immediate predecessors, Arrillaga and Borica.

He took the oath of office at Guadalajara on March 31, 1815, before General Don José de la Cruz. He had once before, in 1805-7, served the province in official capacity, as temporary *habilitado general* in Mexico.

Sailing from San Blas on the *Paz y Religion*, Governor Solá arrived at Monterey on August 30, having been between seventy-five and eighty days *en voyage*.

In anticipation of his arrival, great preparations had been made. The several distinguished visitors, accompanied by men of science, who had honored Alta California ports, La Pérouse, Vancouver, and Rezánov, had been hospitably entertained as well as circumstances had permitted and not discredibly to the province. Now, however, a new politico-social pace was to be set and the *propietario* was to be received befittingly.

Besides officers and friars from north and south, every one who could—even Indians—arrived to do him honor, to take part in the ceremonies or to see what was to be seen.

The great day was inaugurated with pomp and ceremony, when Padre Presidente Señan, followed by twenty friars, all in full canonicals, and they by thirty neophytes clad in bright colors, musicians and singers with José el Cantor at the head, marched in formal procession to the *presidio* chapel, where they were joined by the governor, officers, and soldiers, heralded by salutes of artillery.

The friars took their respective places at the altar; the

Indian choir ranged itself near by, with violins, viols, flutes, and drums in readiness. Two lines of soldiers stood at attention; and, as the governor entered, passing between them, *Te Deum Laudamus* soared upward to the "Lord God of Sabaoth" and heaven and earth were full of the majesty of His glory!

At intervals, discharges of musketry and cannon in the plaza stressed the religious ceremonies, continuing through the entire high mass, which was followed by an eloquent discourse appropriate to the occasion, delivered by the *padre presidente*.

After mass, standing in front of the flagstaff, from which floated the royal flag of Spain, Governor Solá reviewed the troops and then made a speech, punctuated, for him, with many *vivas* and a prolonged flourish of them as a finale. This concluded the first part of the elaborate program.

A magnificent repast had been prepared and now awaited the attention of the governor, who was greeted at the banquet hall by a bevy of young girls, all in white, the most beautiful in the province, each in turn kissing his hand and each receiving a gift of bonbons from him. Then, one of their number, Doña Magdalena Estudillo, made a formal, gracefully worded little address of welcome, wishing His Excellency a long and successful administration. The flower-decked tables were laden with the best of everything the country produced, fish, meat, game, vegetables, fruit, and the wonderful products of the missions: olives from San Diego, wines from San Fernando, and, as a climax, pastries made with flour from San Antonio. After the feast, an exhibition of horsemanship by soldiers dressed as *vaqueros* was witnessed.

Already a well-filled day, the great event, never omitted when it could be managed, was now staged: a pawing bull was first introduced; then four *vaqueros* brought a bear into the arena—a grizzly, snarling and snapping; around

each of his legs was drawn a *reata*, taut, the other end skillfully managed by one of the four men. The two beasts were then fastened together by a chain long enough to allow free movement. The *reatas* were removed and—the bull-and-bear fight was on!

In the evening, there was a grand ball at the house of the *comandante*, which lasted until the dawn of the next day.

Governor Solá was also entertained formally at Mission San Carlos. His appointment had been received with joy by the friars, the guardian at San Fernando having informed them that he had a brother at the college. This brother, Faustino, who, prior to 1790, had been for a time in Alta California, was insane—and had been so for twenty-five years!

Evidently, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá brought with him to Alta California well-defined ideas—theories—as to his duty in the matter of the Russo-Hispanic situation on the northwest coast; and, almost at once, they were to be put to the acid test.

Otter catching had gone merrily on, bringing forth nothing much officially beyond perfunctory protests. Trade had continued.

Vessels, Russian, with sometimes a partly American personnel, and American—singly and in fleets—with and without Russian contracts, came down the coast, questing, in this process of extermination, not only seals and sea otters, but anything covered with fur. One log, that of 1810-11, of the *Albatross*—Captain Nathan Winship; mate, William Smith—reveals what, in the way of animals, an ingathering meant. In this list we find: beaver, raccoon, wildcat, land otter, fox, mink, gray squirrel, muskrat, mole, and one solitary skunk.

The *Il'men'*, purchased in 1813 by Baránov, was sent down the coast under an American master, with a cargo

of merchandise in charge of another American, Juan Eliot de Castro, and with a band of Aleut hunters on board under Borís Tarakánov. This combination had been so successful that many otter skins, thousands of dollars, and large quantities of grain had gone back to Sitka.

Dazzled by success, heedless or unaware of the policy of the new governor, warnings to quit the coast had no meaning for them. On September 1, 1815, while daringly plying their trade at San Pedro, Tarakánov and twenty Aleuts were captured by Comisionado Cota, of Los Angeles, and incontinently jailed at the *pueblo*. A few days later, Eliot de Castro, with another American, four Russians, and an Aleut, landed near San Luis Obispo; and they, too, were captured. Manifestly, Solá's theories were in excellent working order.

This unexpected lightning from a cloudless California sky sent the *Íl'men'* scudding away from the coast. A stop was made at Ross, however, and, as a consequence, protests were received from Kuskóv.

In October, the captives were taken to Santa Bárbara and Monterey, the officers being treated with punctilious courtesy but the rest being made to work for their rations like any other prisoners. Some of the Aleuts, who were trustingly sent out in their *bidarkas* by the Spaniards to catch otter, made good their escape and returned to Ross.

Despite repeated orders from viceroy and governor to the Russians at Ross to keep out of Spanish ports, they did not do so. Only a short time before the arrival of Governor Solá, the *Suvórov*, going south to Callao on her way to St. Petersburg, had put in at San Francisco for water and fresh provisions, but had taken full advantage of the opportunity to dispose of a large part of her cargo of merchandise. The *Íl'men'* and *Chírikov* had also visited the port and had sailed away well laden with grain, which was sent to Sitka on the *Chírikov*.

The situation was no more pleasing to Solá than it had been to the *interino*, Argüello, and on September 26, less than a month after his arrival, he called upon the *comandante* at San Francisco, Luis Argüello, "for a report on past visits of Russians to San Francisco, the supplies furnished, and how they had been paid for. He also seems to have sent orders to Ross forbidding the illegal entry of all foreign vessels into Californian ports" (Bancroft).

In July or August, prior to the arrival of Governor Solá, Captain Jennings of the schooner *Columbia*, belonging to the Northwest Company (British), lately established on the Columbia River, had submitted a commercial proposition to Argüello which he had promised to forward with a recommendation to the viceroy. The viceroy and his advisers saw nothing in the proposition except a desire to gain a footing on Spanish soil on the northwest coast and, incidentally, to procure otter skins while reconnoitering the country. The English were to be carefully watched. Nothing was to go farther than the ordinary requirements of international hospitality; and the proposition was refused.

In January, 1816, the *Albatross*—Captain William Smith—long known on the coast, and the *Lydia*—Captain Henry Gyzelaar, a Hollander—both man and ship newcomers, so it appeared, lay off shore at El Refugio, which was somewhat defiled by the pitch of contraband trade as the home of the Ortegas, who were suspected of being the go-betweens for the friars in their smuggling operations with craft thus engaged, which, touching at other points, kept out of the ports. The Ortegas grew rich at it.

The two commanders came ashore with a few men and were swooped down on by the *comandante* of Santa Bárbara, José de la Guerra y Noriega, assisted by Sergeant Carlos Carrillo and Cadet Santiago Argüello—still another son of Don José, who was now Governor of Baja California.

The *Lydia* was seized by Carrillo and, as she was in danger of going to pieces in so exposed a situation, was taken to Santa Bárbara. But the *Albatross* was more formidable, and there was nothing to be done but to let her go when she sailed away, ostensibly to procure fresh supplies, with the promise of a return in eight days to see what fate had befallen her commander. With passports and other official documents in escrow—so to speak—and her commander held as a hostage, De la Guerra entertained the hope that she would return, in which case he would be in a position to effect her capture, but she did not, and Smith was left in the lurch. The prisoners were taken to the Presidio of Santa Bárbara, where, according to Mrs. Ord, Gyzelaar was the guest of her father, the *comandante*, Don José de la Guerra. The *Lydia* was ordered to Monterey by Governor Solá, and went there under command of Gyzelaar, himself, manned by four of his own men and two of Smith's, under guard of Sergeant Carrillo and six men. According to Bancroft, "Sola disapproved this act, facetiously likening it to a delivery of the church for protection to Luther."

Smith was left at Santa Bárbara. Both commanders pleaded the need of fresh supplies, and nothing else, as their reason for touching at El Refugio. Gyzelaar made a statement, signed by himself and all his men, that the *Lydia* could go no farther, and that he himself was new to the coast and had put in, in distress, at the first place he saw houses; that the *Lydia*, owned by the American consul at Canton, had completed a voyage with a cargo from China to Sitka and was now returning, via the Marquesas, with a small cargo of merchandise and a few otter skins.

Pleading innocence of evil intentions, Gyzelaar begged to be released and, as there were ninety thousand dollars at stake on the voyage, allowed to proceed. There was no evidence on which to hold him and he was given his

liberty. Smith, who had also piped up, and had, likewise, pleaded sinlessness, begged that, as he was old and infirm and as the *Albatross* might not return, he be sent away on the *Lydia*. The *Lydia* sailed, touching at Santa Bárbara, and when she departed thence on March 15, Smith, with some of his men, was on board. "That the two captains came to Refugio for nothing but contraband trade there is little room for doubt." So says Bancroft.

The first permanent white settler, other than Spanish, in Alta California, was John Gilroy, a Scotchman, whose real name was Cameron, who came to the province in 1814. But the first American settler was one of Smith's men, Thomas W. Doak, who remained at Monterey and "became a Christian"—having been baptized at San Carlos on December 22 of the same year, 1816. Later, he was given permission by the viceroy to marry and settle, and, in 1820, at Mission San Juan Bautista, he married María Lugarda, a daughter of José Mariano de Castro.

In June, 1816, despatches from Mazatlán via the Peninsula brought word that both Guayaquil and Callao had been attacked by *insurgentes* from Buenos Aires, who also contemplated hostilities against the northern province.

On the 23d, Governor Solá issued orders to all the *comandantes* to prepare for attack, which was to be resisted to the end—whatever it might be! Militia artillerymen (of whom not much seems to have been recorded since their organization by Alférez José Roca, in 1805-6) were to be called to the *presidios* for instruction and drill. Cartridges were to be made and, should it be necessary, the least valuable of the archives might be used for the purpose. On the same day, a circular was sent to all the missions and the friars were instructed to have fifteen or twenty Indian *vaqueros* on call, armed with *reatas*, ready to go to their respective *presidios*. Friars were urged to spur them on to loyalty! Church valuables were to be boxed up in

readiness for removal and, in case of attack, cattle were to be driven to the interior.

Answers were promptly received—within the week—from all, that instructions were being carried out.

The *insurgentes* did not arrive; but, because of them, no Lima ships were able to come up with merchandise to trade for tallow. The *Flora* (of the *Mercury* seizure fame) and the *Tagle*, her companion, both Peruvian coast-guard vessels, were the first to engage in this trade sanctioned by Spain to replace the San Blas supply transports, which were not sent.

For the time, trade with the Russians seems to have ceased, owing, perhaps, to the decided stand taken by Governor Solá and the searching inquiries set in motion by him immediately upon his arrival; and there was great destitution in the province.

The *Columbia* did not return, but, in the hour of most pressing need, in August of that year, in her stead came the good ship *Colonel*, with merchandise to exchange; and, thereupon, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, Governor of Alta California, fell from grace, tore up his ideals and threw them away, as out of date and unsuited to the occasion. And, withal, he showed himself no coward. The viceroy's orders, refusing the proffered trade, were at hand, and, despite those orders, yielding to the solicitations of his officers, he obtained supplies from the missions and exchanged them for about seven thousand dollars' worth of goods.

There was no subterfuge, for the gallant gentleman made a clear and full report to the viceroy, confessing "his manifold sins and wickedness" in his flagrant disobedience of orders, and gave his reasons for it. He does not seem to have been reprimanded.

Royal orders of June 27, 1815, resulted, on April 30, 1816, in orders from Governor Solá to the *comandantes* that an expedition sent around the world in the interest

of science and for exploration in the North Pacific, under command of Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue of the Russian navy, on board the *Rurik*, might be expected; and that upon arrival, distinguished consideration was to be extended.

This expedition had arrived in Pacific waters via Cape Horn, stopping for repairs at Talcaguano, Chile, on the way north. Explorations having been made in Kamchatka and Alaska, the *Rurik* was headed south from Unalaska on September 14, and, on October 2, dropped anchor in San Francisco Bay, where Kotzebue was received by the *comandante*, Luis Argüello.

Copies of passports and of various official documents presented by the explorer were forwarded to the governor together with a letter, written in French, dated October 5, from Kotzebue to Solá, in which he presents his respects and thanks him for the courteous reception which has been accorded him; and says, in substance, that he is pleased to hear that His Excellency expects to visit San Francisco during the stay of the *Rurik*, which, he adds, will not be longer than fifteen days, the object of his visit being to obtain fresh supplies in order to continue his voyage.

Many attentions were shown Kotzebue, the scientific corps, and the officers. It is unnecessary to state that one affair, arranged in their honor, was a grand bull-and-bear fight at the *presidio*. On the 9th, that being the *fiesta* of San Francisco, the patron of the mission, they were entertained by the friars at Dolores; and on the 16th, Governor Solá arrived to add his personal welcome to that vicariously extended by the *comandante*; but etiquette proper to the occasion was nearly the cause of disaster. Already one blunder had been made (a salute of seven guns from the *Rurik* having been answered by one of five guns from the fort); and now a question as to which, governor or commander, was to make the first official visit threatened to halt civilities: both seem to have been sticklers, and each exacted it of the other. A deadlock was about to ensue

and Solá to return to Monterey when, luckily, Kotzebue came ashore to make his noon observations and, in some way, this was tactfully taken advantage of in the solution of the problem and the path was cleared for future amenities!

The Spaniards were of two minds regarding the Russians: beckoning them on to exchange commodities with one hand, while desiring in their hearts to push them off the precipice at Ross with the other.

The higher officials were indignant at the behavior of Kuskóv and poured out their grievances to Kotzebue, who, while he had not the least authority in the matter, not only lent an attentive ear but requested Kuskóv to come to San Francisco that the matter might be discussed and a statement for presentation to the Russian government prepared.

Kuskóv came on the 25th, and very loath to come he must have been, for there was nothing less to his taste than a report to the government, even if it should only temporarily impede his activities as the agent of the Russian American Fur Company.

After a conference held at the *presidio*, at which Adelbert von Chamisso—the botanist and one of the naturalists of the expedition—had acted as interpreter, a formal paper was drawn up, which would seem to have been merely a record of proceedings—very full minutes of the meeting, embodying Solá's statements that Kuskóv had planted the Russian American Fur Company's establishment on Spanish territory and when called upon by the viceroy to withdraw had not done so, nor had he been able to get definite answers from Kuskóv to his letters; also that at the conference, Kuskóv had refused to discuss the matter; and that Kotzebue had stated that he had no authority to act but would submit the matter to his government.

This document, signed by Kotzebue, Kuskóv, Chamisso,

as interpreter, and Luis Argüello and José María Estudillo, as witnesses, was sent, later, along the proper channels in St. Petersburg, but it was not acted upon.

While this solemn sanhedrin was in progress, Kuskóv, with the consent of Kotzebue, sent out two *bidarkas* to catch otter in the bay!

During the sojourn of Kotzebue, the transport *San Carlos* arrived, having on board Eliot de Castro and Borís Tarakánov, who had been sent to San Blas the year before on the *Paz y Religión*.

Juan Eliot de Castro! The name arrests one's attention. There is something out of the ordinary twisting of names with which we are familiar in these pages. Eliot de Castro, on the *Il'men'*, an American; is referred to as an Englishman; written of as a native of Portugal; and loses part of his name in the documents in Alta California, where he appears as Don Juan Eliot, the Spanish rendering of "John Eliot," the name he signed to a paper which is in the Sitka archives.

On the *San Carlos*, upon her return to the south, went Alférez Gervasio Argüello as *habilitado general* for California in Mexico.

On November 1, after a stay of a month, lacking one day, the *Rurik* sailed; and going with Kotzebue, on his way to the Hawaiian Islands, was Eliot de Castro, of whom Padre Martínez writes, "in a letter of Dec. 11th, that unless he mends his ways he will go hence 'to hell—not because I will send him there, for I am not in the service of devils, but because he so wishes it'" (Bancroft, note). Of his ultimate destination, we have, of course, no record; but in Hawaii, he evidently mended his ways sufficiently to become secretary of state to the king.

Although much space is given to Alta California in the three books published as a result of this expedition, only a passing reference to them is necessary. Kotzebue's strikes

no note, in his criticisms either of Spanish policy or of the mission system, which had not been sounded before by La Pérouse, Vancouver, and others. He says that the natives are ugly and stupid, which we know from many other sources, but he gives no inside information as to his conferences with the Spaniards in regard to Ross.

Chamisso deals with the same subjects—now hackneyed to us—but in a somewhat charming way, and does not further fray them at the edges. He says: “ ‘Only a smuggling trade, which the new governor has tried to suppress, furnishes this province with the most indispensable articles. Spain has given way in the affair of Nootka. England and the U. S. . . . are now negotiating about the colony at the mouth of the Columbia; and the Russ. Am. Co. have still a settlement a few leagues north of San Francisco’ ” (Bancroft, note).

A Russian traveler and artist with the expedition, Louis or Ludwig Choris, was responsible for the third: a book of lithographic reproductions of his drawings, with interesting descriptions by Chamisso and others.

Another distinguished member of the expedition, the physician and one of the naturalists, was Johann Friedrich von Eschscholtz, whose name has been perpetuated in the botanical name of the California poppy, the state flower—the golden glory of the *mesas*.

Although the month was October and the country dry and brown—the season long passed when California sings her hymn of praise in flowers, for the mere fact of being what she is—Chamisso and Eschscholtz scoured the sandhills about San Francisco, and went as far afield as they were permitted, making drawings after the manner of botanists—of flowers, leaves, plants, roots, seeds, and seed pods—and securing seeds with which to experiment in Europe. Among the plants studied and the seeds gathered was the poppy. The seeds grew and prospered, and it was not long before this bit of California sunshine, *el*

capitan de las flores—the captain of the flowers—was to be found in gardens in various parts of Europe. The name was bestowed upon it by Chamisso, in honor of his friend; and among the plates in the many volumes representing the years given by him to botanical research, is one of *Eschscholtzia Californica*.

XXXIX

Trade with the Russians was at a standstill when, in October, 1816, during the Kotzebue sojourn, the *San Carlos*, the first supply ship since 1810, arrived. There was great rejoicing until it was discovered that the cargo was made up of war stores and damaged supplies; but such as could be used were not to be despised, for no ships came up from Perú that year.

The next year, no supply transports were despatched from San Blas for Alta California. This was not so serious as it might have been, because two Lima ships, the *Hermosa Mexicana* and the *San Antonio*, arrived with merchandise to exchange for tallow. Another vessel, the *Cazadora*, from Panamá, came with the same object.

Most of the grain and tallow going away in ships bringing merchandise came from the missions. The missions were carrying the province. True, the friars were paid—always paid—with drafts on the treasury—that were never honored. It is reasonably safe to say that, when they took the bits of paper, they knew they never would be! There was a little rumbling of discontent, a little grumbling occasionally, but not much, for, from the first, the thought that present conditions were but temporary, that the revolution would be quelled kept up the courage of all, the friars with the rest. So detached from the realities, so far away were they, that always just before them they saw Peace.

But, in the matter of this tallow, there was a decided hitch and much correspondence. The governor was in favor of its exportation, but he was also in favor of something else not so agreeable to the friars, for, out of the large accumulation then at the missions, he wished a small amount turned over to each *presidio* to be used in lieu of

money by the soldiers—who, in these troublous times in the viceroyalty, were receiving no pay—to purchase necessary articles from these vessels. The friars themselves were getting neither their stipends nor, as formerly, the equivalent in goods, and this proposition was received by them with a total lack of enthusiasm. They preferred to manage the disposal of the tallow from the missions in their own way and without intervention, either to the ships or in sending it to Mexico. But even this difficulty was resolved in some way. All three ships sailed with full cargoes, the *Cazadora* with the others, notwithstanding that, under date of July 12, 1816, the viceroy, in instructions to Solá, had forbidden trade with Panamá. The *Hermosa Mexicana* paid five hundred and eighteen dollars in export duties, as a convenience to California, which, in the usual routine, would have been paid at Callao. Also, there was trade this year with the Russians.

Although Viceroy Calleja had not expressed disapproval of what had been done in the way of an exchange of grain for merchandise needed for the soldiers, the Russians were not to be allowed to inform themselves as to actual conditions, nor were their vessels to enter the ports. And, later, orders were received by Solá to force them to abandon Ross; and, in order to effect this, he was at liberty to seek aid from the rulers of other provinces. Governor Solá did not attempt to execute this order, but replied, in substance, that unless substantial reënforcements were furnished, it could not be done; and, in the matter of securing coöperation from other provinces, he called the attention of the viceroy to their distance from Alta California.

In March of that year, 1817, Lieutenant Podúshkin was sent down from Sitka by Baránov, on the *Chírikov*, ostensibly to bring back Russian and Aleut prisoners who had not been returned to Kuskóv; but the real object of the visit was the usual one: the urge for trade.

At San Francisco, the *Chírikov* did not enter the harbor,

the officers going ashore in *bidarkas*. Permission to continue the journey to Monterey, overland, was asked by Podúshkin and was refused by Comandante Argüello.

At Monterey, Governor Solá delivered up fifteen prisoners, among whom was Borís Tarakánov. There were others who could not be rounded up; and some had married and were allowed to remain. Permanent trade was discussed and a proposition, which included otter catching in partnership, was made by Podúshkin in behalf of the Russian American Fur Company; but to neither was Solá able to give a definite answer.

The *Chírikov* was allowed to take away a cargo of grain; and when Podúshkin returned to Sitka in June, he was the bearer of a letter dated May 5, from Solá, in which, logically leading up to it, he frankly asks Baránov to " 'remove every cause of complaint' " and to withdraw the Russian establishment at Bodega beyond the Spanish limits, the Strait of Fuca; and says, in substance, that with this matter settled, the king might be more inclined to listen to his proposals.

In January, 1818, Baránov was succeeded by Hagemeister; on April 16 of the next year, while on his way to Russia on board the *Kutúzov*, he died and was buried at sea.

Details are not necessary as to the comings and going of various Russian vessels during the next few years. Ships came with goods, some of them not even touching at Ross on their way to Alta California ports, and ships departed with grain. In other words, excepting in 1819, in which year no Russian vessels seem to have arrived, trade continued. To the Russians, it was evidently important enough to warrant at least two visits from Hagemeister and to be worthy of attention from Golovnín, who was on the way around the world on the *Kamchatka* investigating Russian interests. Both seem to have been at Monterey in the autumn of 1818.

Seeking to meet the situation, of which he disapproved, in a better way, Solá offered to pay for a cargo of Russian goods with drafts on Guadalajara, which offer was refused by Hagemeister, who proposed that payment be made in otter skins and that they, themselves, would catch the little animals. This, in his turn, Solá quite as promptly refused.

On August 5, 1817, the *Bordelais* arrived at San Francisco, the first ship flying the French flag to enter the port, traded merchandise for fresh provisions and a few otter skins and, after a stay of nine days, proceeded on her way to Sitka. On October 16, she was back at San Francisco, remaining until November 20, when, the business which had brought her transacted, she again departed. The *Bordelais* was commanded by Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil of the French navy, but was nevertheless a merchant ship, carrying a cargo of French goods, sent out from Bordeaux to compete with American and Russian trading craft—a private venture—and had arrived in Pacific waters around Cape Horn, touching at South American ports on her way up the coast.

After a trip to the Marquesas and the north coast, Roquefeuil, mixed up in Russian affairs, came down from Sitka to secure a cargo of grain with which to fulfill a contract; and the *Bordelais* cast anchor for the third time in the harbor of San Francisco, on September 20, 1818, remaining for one month, at which time (it seems reasonably safe to say) Hagemeister and Golovnin were in Alta California.

A general tour of inspection begun by Governor Solá at San Francisco, in 1817, including every *presidio*, *pueblo*, and mission from there to San Diego, resulted, in 1818, in many recommendations to the viceroy.

Solá was by nature more optimistic than Arrillaga, which is reflected in his reports; and while investigating the needs

of the province staring at him from whatever direction he might turn, he was, at the same time, keenly alive to resources near at hand. To him, the finest lands in California were those belonging to Mission San Gabriel, where there was also an abundance of water.

San Gabriel was, in fact, a banner mission. Although Padre Zalvidea, perhaps an indifferent agriculturist, had complained that the land was exhausted and that, in consequence, crops had to be put in at La Puente, several leagues away, where six hundred Indians were then at work—and needing a chapel; and despite squirrels, gophers, grasshoppers, desert winds, and an occasional drought, San Gabriel—wherever the crops may have been planted—stood, in 1820, second, for the decade, in agriculture.

Arrillaga had held out no encouragement as to the possibility of the existence of the precious metals in the province, while Solá, with more vision, advised that there was every possibility.

It is not to be supposed that there was any real awakening as to potentialities in mineral wealth hidden in the mountains buttressing, on the east, the great valley back of the Coast Range, but there was a rumor that gold had been discovered near San Luis Obispo; that a small amount of silver had been extracted by smelting;—with whisperings of secret doings, along these lines, at the missions. And the Ortegas, whose acquisitiveness was well developed, had a mine.

Schools had not received much if any attention during Arrillaga's apathetic administration. Solá had, however, found one, at least, already established at Monterey, with Corporal Miguel Archuleta, who had been taught to read and write by Padre Ybañez, installed as teacher. In 1817, Solá wrote the viceroy that during the two years he had been in office, education in the province had made considerable progress. And in his report of 1817-18, he mentions with evident satisfaction that—now is implied—there was

a primary school at each of the two *pueblos* and four *presidios*, where religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught by a settler or retired soldier of good character.

Generally, even the most rudimentary education does not seem to have been thought necessary for girls, many being taken out of school by their parents, to be married, before even the simple course of study provided had been completed.

Governor Solá felt the need of education in Alta California, and three schools, two for boys and one for girls, are said to have been partly supported by him. For the time and place, he was very progressive, urging that there might be some sort of college where a few of the more intelligent neophytes might be trained as instructors for their own race; and that there might be some place where the neophyte girls would be away from the influence of their own families and friends.

The friars took no notice of these altruistic ideas and no encouragement came from Mexico.

Prior to 1817, when the idea of an *asistencia* to the mission at Dolores took shape, nothing had been done toward an establishment, *presidio*, *pueblo*, or mission, north of San Francisco.

It is broadly hinted that it was thought advisable to keep a strip of Spanish territory between their Russian neighbors and the bay, and at the same time to find a ready market for their produce at Ross. But there was always the urge to extend missionary work, and, in order to gain a safer footing, the Spaniards were, by prearrangement, endeavoring to force the aborigines gradually farther back. And now looming up was the shadowy prospect of secularization with the consequent moving on of the missionaries to new fields which must be in readiness. But, in this instance, if these were factors, they seem to have been secondary, for the principal reason for another establishment at this

time was the ill health and terrible mortality among the neophytes at Dolores—so great, indeed, that a panic among them was feared.

From the journeyings to Ross had come the knowledge of a milder climate north of the bay; and, at the suggestion of Governor Solá, some of the neophytes in failing health were sent across, with such satisfactory results that the experiment gave rise to the idea of something permanent: a place where the ailing or the less hardy neophytes might be sent.

The Solá plan was well thought of by the *padre presidente*, but it seemed to be beyond the possibility of attainment. Communication would be difficult; but more insurmountable was the fact that there were no friars available to take charge, the College of San Fernando no longer sending new ones, an effect of conditions in Mexico felt in the province. He hesitated, therefore, about any official step toward a formal establishment being taken at that time. But the death of several of the neophytes at the experimental station, without benefit of clergy, precipitated the matter; and, according to the report of November, 1817, of Padre Sarriá, the *comisario prefecto*, it was decided "to found 'a kind of rancho with its chapel, baptistry, and cemetery, with the title of San Rafael Arcángel, in order that this most glorious prince, who in his name expresses the "healing of God," may care' for bodies as well as souls" (Bancroft). The same reasons for the new foundation were given by Governor Solá in a letter to the viceroy, dated April 3, 1818.

Padre Luis Gil y Taboada consented to become a supernumerary at Mission San Francisco, in order to take charge of the branch establishment; and, on December 14, Padre Sarriá, assisted by Padres Gil, Durán, and Abella, founded the Asistencia de San Rafael Arcángel. The ceremonies were the same as for a mission, and there was no real difference in its management. In 1818, an *adobe* building,

eighty-seven feet long and forty-two feet wide, divided by partitions into a chapel, the padres' dwelling, and other rooms, was erected. A number of neophytes were transferred; and in 1820, the population was five hundred and ninety.

The subject of land grants in Alta California is one that should be approached with caution and, except by the specialist, treated in a very general way; but it seems safe to say that in the early eighteen hundreds they were still provisional, and that, unless Don José Darío Argüello had been given a license to occupy Rancho Las Pulgas, or El Pilar, there were none either in the extreme north or south.

In the San José region, it is certain that one was given to José María Larios, who built a house and sold the entire *rancho* to Mission San José. A controversy ensuing, on the subject of this land, between the Pueblo of San José and the mission, Larios was reprimanded and notified that the only right he had possessed was the usufruct; and the whole transaction was declared null and void by Arrillaga.

Beginning with the year 1800, only one of the six *ranchos* that had been granted in the vicinity of Monterey is mentioned during the following ten years—Buenavista. This land was, it seems, desired by the friars at San Carlos, who were much vexed with Arrillaga because he refused to evict the grantees and turn the land over to the mission.

In 1801, six persons agreed to form a settlement near San Juan Bautista; and, in 1803, one of them, Mariano Castro, returned from Mexico, bringing a viceregal license permitting the group to occupy Rancho La Brea; but the friars refused to remove their live stock and made it impossible for the license to be taken advantage of; and, in 1807, Castro asked for Rancho Salsipuedes, but the outcome is unknown, veiled in the claims of Mission Santa Cruz.

Of the privately held *ranchos*, San Rafael was the first

granted—by Fages, to Verdugo, on October 20, 1784. Los Nietos, granted to Nieto, in November of the same year, was the largest of all the California grants, sixty-eight square leagues—more than three hundred thousand acres—reduced, later, to meet a claim presented by Mission San Gabriel. San Pedro, to Domínguez; Portezuelo, to another Verdugo; San José de Gracia de Simi, to Pico; and, it may be, El Refugio, to Ortega, were others granted, prior to 1800, in the Los Angeles district.

After 1800, Las Virgenes was granted to Miguel Ortega; El Conejo to Polanco and Rodríguez; and Rancho Santiago de Santa Ana, to Yorba. El Encino, taken from Reyes for Mission San Fernando, may have been replaced by another near Purísima Concepción. Both the San Vicente and the Camulos were sought by and refused to many.

The friars evidently had a very poor opinion of *rancheros* in general, and those at San Buenaventura protested vigorously against granting the Camulos to Ávila in 1804: "Their presence was detrimental to the success of missionary effort; they led an idle, vagabond life, often left their farms and wives in charge of gentiles, and set a bad example, rarely coming to hear mass or missing a fandango. . . . Indians who were brought up among Christians were always hardest to convert. The *rancheros*, the friars claimed, did not accumulate property, nor add in any respect to the prosperity of the country" (Bancroft).

Comandantes of *presidios* were forbidden to own *ranchos* for the raising of live stock.

During the years that followed between this time and 1821, there is not much in the records about private *ranchos*. Some of the original grants had been abandoned and there were a few new ones. Mention is occasionally made of one *ranchito* or another, in some connection, but it is all very confused and of little interest. Eldredge says: "Not more than thirty of these private grants, if so many, appear to have been made by all of the Spanish governors."

Boundary lines were ill defined and very vague, and the cause of trouble and protests, first from one side, then another. Protests came from the missions against private land grants, on general principles; and also for all sorts of special reasons, some of them excellent and some seemingly far-fetched. An objection was made, in 1816, to a grant twenty leagues from San Gabriel.

The *padres* are credited with saying that El Refugio had enough land for a mission; yet there seems not to have been enough to permit them to graze the Mission San Fernando sheep over it. In 1817, they were ordered off by the Ortegas, as they had been in 1816, by Patricio Pico, from the Simi.

In December, 1819, the Pueblo of Los Angeles protested that the land granted to Talamantes and Machado belonged to and was needed by the *pueblo*. "The names of the petitioners are all written in one handwriting, with a '+' attached by the two regidores [Anastasio Ávila and Tomás Uribes], who could not write, to certify the genuineness of all" (Bancroft, note).

Protests came from all angles of the triangle made up of *pueblos*, missions, and private *ranchos*.

However objectionable to the friars were *ranchos* and *pueblos*, that of Los Angeles did well in the material sense. By 1817, the land appertaining yielded all the produce that could be marketed. But be it again understood that the Spaniard, genuine or so-called, in Alta California, himself did little real work. He became in the strictest and most limited sense of the word a *caballero*: he rode a horse. He rode well; and he bore arms bravely. The tenure by which the *pobladores* held their land required both—but they did little else that could, by any possibility, be done by the Indians, who did the agricultural work and shared the crops. They were to be had for all kinds of labor, and were well pleased with one *real* a day in payment. There was no "servant question," Indians, male and female,

giving ready service for little, if anything, more than food and raiment, and those of the simplest.

In 1814, Padre Gil y Taboada, at that time at San Gabriel, laid the corner stone for a new chapel at the *pueblo*, but the site was changed and nothing was done until 1818. Five hundred cattle were subscribed by the *pobladores*, but as their sale would not bring enough to build the chapel, the governor agreed to take them and to include the cost of building in his estimate for the following year; and the *comisario prefecto*, Payéras, appealed to the missions, and succeeded in getting a contribution of seven barrels of brandy, worth five hundred and seventy-five *pesos*, for the fund. In 1821, although not completed, the walls had risen as high as the window arches.

The result of the secularization decree of the Spanish *córtes* of 1813 did not materialize in orders to the Franciscans in California until the royal confirmation was published by Viceroy Venadito, in a *bando*—edict—of January 20, 1821, more than seven years after the action of the *córtes*. Guardian López, of the College of San Fernando, immediately forwarded the news to Prefect Payéras with instructions to comply at once, to surrender to the government the administration of the temporalities, and to be ready, with exact inventories, to turn over to the bishop, as soon as the demand should arrive, the nineteen missions that had been established in Alta California.

The *comisario prefecto* notified the governor of the receipt of these instructions; and that the friars were ready to carry out their part, and were rejoiced either to go on to new conversions or to retire. The Bishop of Sonora was notified; and the friars were sent a circular, giving them full information. The *comisario prefecto* had then done his full duty in the matter, and nothing remained but to await further instructions.

(The bishop had still no secular priests to send; and this the friars knew. So it is probable that they were not

greatly disturbed over the order to move on; and after having signified their readiness to comply, settled down again in erstwhile security.)

Under date of December 20, the Bishop of Sonora replied to the prefect that the California friars might remain where they were; that the order had not been enforced anywhere in America, and it would be time enough to think of new conversions later.

XL

Commanding the American brig, *Clarion*, which dropped anchor on the afternoon of October 6, 1818, Captain Henry Gyzelaar came again to Santa Bárbara and informed Comandante José de la Guerra y Noriega that two *insurgente* ships were outfitting at the Hawaiian Islands for a visit to the coast.

Word was sent to the governor by the *comandante*; and warnings, in every direction.

Orders, upon receipt of the news, were despatched by Solá to the *presidios* and missions about everything imaginable, great and small: gunpowder, cartridges, provisions, sentinels, and relays of couriers. In the event of Solá's death, De la Guerra was to be recognized as acting governor. Settlers were summoned to aid in the defense, and Indians, with bows and arrows, from the missions. The *presidios* were to be prepared for attack, and all was to be in readiness to send women and children, at the first alarm, to certain of the inner chain of missions.

Ghostlike, the Villa de Branciforte appears in this connection, in a letter of October 19, from Padre Ramón Olbés, of Mission Santa Cruz, to Don José de la Guerra, in which the *padre* is evidently disturbed by the attitude of pleased expectancy at the *villa* over the possible arrival of the revolutionists: "‘not to fight, but to join them, for such is the disposition of the inhabitants’" (Bancroft).

Everything was arranged according to orders. Every one was on the *qui vive*. But days grew into weeks, and still the Alta California coast was unvisited by the *insurgentes*. Gradually, the belief that, as before, this was a

false alarm took hold; and again a feeling somewhat akin to security supervened. Even the governor himself, when the month of November was on the wane, felt that it was too late in the year to expect an attack; and, although vigilance was not relaxed, he issued orders to Comandante de la Guerra and, perhaps, to the others, permitting those who had been summoned to the *presidios* to aid in defending the province to return to their homes.

The tone of his letter to Don José was, to say the least, peevish, and not far removed from insulting: chiding him for listening to unfounded rumors, and thus holding him accountable for the "false alarm."

The revolutionary movement took shape in the Spanish South American colonies in 1810, as it had in New Spain. Buenos Aires declared her independence in 1816, and, thereafter, vigorously aided the movement in the other dependencies, being especially helpful to those on the opposite side of the continent, issuing letters of marque to vessels—many of them from the United States, despite a declared neutrality—recognized as privateers and, under cover of that, attacking when and where they pleased, patrolling the western coast, hampering and harassing the Spanish officials.

Most of those from the United States were outfitted at Baltimore and so, from whatever port they may have hailed—and to whatever class they were relegated: "patriot craft," "privateersmen," or "pirates," according to the locality in which they found themselves—just as all American trading vessels had been termed "Boston ships," they were all known as "Baltimore ships."

Effects were far reaching and ramified strangely. Loyal—taking no part in uprisings against Spain, not even sympathizing, Alta California was nevertheless hard hit. For, by the presence of these Buenos Aires vessels in South American waters, Lima ships, bringing merchandise and taking away tallow, were for long periods held in port,

unable to run the blockade, and Alta California was thus left without supplies and was thereby forced into illicit trade with the "Boston ships" and with the Russians at Ross.

The nervously expected *insurgente* vessels, which had not as yet appeared, were of those taking out letters of marque at Buenos Aires, and at least one of them is thought to have been a "Baltimore ship."

Still below the horizon scanned by the lookouts posted on the coast, two vessels were in reality, at that very instant of time, heading for Monterey. The larger was the *Argentina*, or *La Gentila*—Captain Hippolyte Bouchard, a Frenchman—with two hundred and sixty men on board, and armed with forty-four guns. On the smaller, the *Santa Rosa*, or *La Libertad*, under command of Peter Corney, an Englishman, were one hundred men; eighteen guns were carried. Most of the officers were American. As to the crews, they were made up of all sorts and conditions of men. A few were English, many were Kanakas; the rest, Americans, Spanish Americans, and Spaniards, Portuguese, Filipinos, Malays, and negroes. Both ships were flying the flag of Buenos Aires.

At Monterey the available force was "forty men, twenty-five cavalymen of the presidial company, four veteran artillerymen, and eleven of the artillery militiamen" (Bancroft). The rest had been dispersed to their homes.

On November 20, two specks rose out of space at the edge of the world of waters, and developed, under the eye of the lookout at Point Pinos, into two vessels making for the port.

Straightway, a courier bore the news to Solá—long expected but, at the moment of coming, startling, unexpected! Now, like the cry of "Wolf! wolf!" in the fable, the agitation over the possible arrival of the *insurgentes*,

to which all had become so accustomed that not much apprehension was felt, suddenly took on an actuality—and the thing itself was there!

Immediately, there was the bustle of preparation; orders long delayed were now being executed. The news was spread that the time had come for families to retire to the already designated points in the interior; and the flight began—if the journey in the cumbersome conveyances lumbering away from the coast may be so called. Everything available was pressed into service: carts with two hides for a floor, some of them with two others for a roof—inadequate protection from the rains that fell, offering little except misery to the shivering old men and invalids and the terror-stricken women and children bundled into them.

Officers took up their positions at their batteries; and a new one was improvised on the beach.

The two vessels loomed larger; but, in the early darkness of the November day, it was nearly night when they drew near the port, and long past eleven o'clock when the *Santa Rosa*, the smaller of the two, cast anchor in the harbor out of range of the guns at the fort—the larger remaining outside.

The usual formal questions were shouted, and the answers came back, not in Spanish but in English, which nobody understood! Next, orders to send a boat ashore with the ship's papers were essayed. The answer returned was taken to mean that it would be done the next morning.

According to the journal of Peter Corney, the one source of information from that side: "Being well acquainted with the bay I ran in and came too at midnight, under the fort; the Spaniard hailed me frequently to send a boat on shore, which I declined. . . . I got a spring on the cable, and at daylight opened a fire on the fort, which was briskly returned from two batteries."

The vessels became, to the Montereyños, the "*fragata negra* [black frigate]," the larger, lying off shore, and the "*fragata chica* [little frigate]," close in. No boat was sent ashore the next morning, as had been expected, but—as Corney tells it, so do the Spaniards—at dawn, the *fragata chica* opened fire.

Surprise, however, did not prevent the fire from being speedily returned. This cross fire was kept up for two hours; and, notwithstanding the unserviceable condition of some of the guns on shore, much damage resulted to the *fragata chica* and there were both killed and wounded on board. But another and a greater surprise came to those on land, when the flag of the *chica* was lowered in token of surrender! (Corney makes no mention of surrender.)

Six boatloads of men were seen to leave the vessel. The easy victory and this maneuver convinced Solá that some ruse was in progress, and Corporal José de Jesus Vallejo, in charge of the improvised shore battery, was ordered to continue firing; but behind the back of the governor, a lively byplay was being enacted. A counter order was immediately sent by Manuel Gómez, in command of the principal shore defenses, to Vallejo to cease firing. This, Vallejo, suspecting his loyalty, was inclined to disregard. Gómez threatened that, unless the order were obeyed, the guns of the fort would be turned on the battery, and this order, it seems, was actually given, but, his gunners refusing absolutely to execute it, he had no way to enforce it. Meantime, either because of an order from Solá or for one of several reasons given in the conflicting accounts, Vallejo had ceased firing.

Solá then ordered the commander of the surrendered vessel ashore but was informed that the commander was not on board. He had, it appears, betaken himself to the larger vessel. Solá replied that, unless a responsible person be immediately sent ashore, firing would recommence.

The responsible person produced was the second officer, one Joseph Chapman, an American.

Now the *Argentina*—the *fragata negra*—was seen approaching under full sail, and the “responsible person” was cast into jail while more pressing matters were attended to!

Gleaned from several sources worthy of credence, but by no means impeccable—stories handed down seldom are—there is one logical and probable explanation of the otherwise inexplicable episode of the *fragata chica*, strengthened by being stated as fact by several persons: that Bouchard, the commander of the expedition, either had been to Monterey himself, had a trusted emissary, or had been furnished information by some one at Monterey (Manuel Gómez is the one suspected, he having a nephew, Lieutenant Luciano Gómez, on one of the Bouchard ships); that the diagram furnished Bouchard had been drawn prior to the placing of the new battery by Solá; and that, therefore, the *fragata chica* had, unknowingly, been brought to anchor within range of these guns and could easily have been sunk by Vallejo, had he not been ordered to cease firing.

The *Argentina* anchored just out of range of all the guns. A boat was then lowered and sent ashore under a flag of truce, with a formal demand from Bouchard to the governor, to surrender the province.

To this, Solá made answer that the governor “‘looked with due scorn upon all that the said communication contained; . . . and that while there was a man alive in the province he could not succeed in his plan of taking possession, since all its inhabitants were faithful servants of the king and would shed the last drop of blood in his service’ ” (Bancroft). That day and that night, the men remained under arms in a drizzling rain. All were in suspense and waiting to meet the next offensive on the part of the enemy.

In the morning, nine boatloads of men, with four small cannon, put off from the *negra* and headed for Point Potrereros. The *negra*, herself, drew closer in shore, and firing between vessel and fort began. The intention could not be mistaken: those at the *presidio* were to be hemmed in between two fires!

Alfárez Estrada, with a small force, was sent to prevent a landing being made. But a large force was landed, which paid little attention to Estrada and his little company—charging and retreating—relentlessly driven backward by the sheer force of numbers, steadily but slowly advancing, on the lookout for an ambushade.

(In one account, the foe is described as moving forward with a band playing and carrying a red flag! This is given here only because it is colorful and picturesque—and yet, it may be absolutely true.)

Although some further resistance was made by the Spaniards, the situation at the *presidio* was so utterly hopeless that guns were spiked, powder that could not be taken was burned, and Governor Solá retreated, with all his men, one two-pounder, two boxes of powder, six thousand musket cartridges, and the provincial archives, to the Rancho del Rey on the Salinas River, and there established headquarters. And the “Royal Presidio of Monterey” was left to its fate.

Reënforcements came the next day to the headquarters on the Salinas; but it was not deemed expedient to attempt an offensive—when the hopelessness of even a defensive was a foregone conclusion! (Accounts again conflict and some “battles” are reported.) All that could be done was to spy upon the foe and see what was going forward.

Bouchard and his men remained at the capital for some days. The dead were buried, the wounded cared for; vessels were repaired and the town sacked. Corney says: “It was well stocked with provisions and goods of every description, which we commenced sending on board the

Argentina. The Sandwich Islanders, who were quite naked when they landed, were soon dressed in the Spanish fashion, and all the sailors were employed in searching the houses for money, and breaking and ruining everything." Mission San Carlos at Carmelo, if visited at all, was not despoiled.

On the 26th or the 27th, or on December 1 according to Corney, the *Argentina* and the *Santa Rosa* moved on down the coast, taking away with them as their only prisoner one Molina, a drunken settler, who had, no doubt, wandered into the middle of things.

A sufficient force having rallied round the standard set up on the Salinas, reënforcements having arrived from both San Francisco and Santa Bárbara, some two hundred Spaniards and many Indians advanced on Monterey, only to find the little town sacked and in flames and the enemy gone. Two deserters were discovered and they were taken prisoners.

El Refugio was next visited by Bouchard and his men, drawn thither, possibly, by tales of the wealth and possessions of the Ortegas, told by the traders with whom they had had illicit dealings. Finding all the buildings deserted and the valuables removed, they burned everything and proceeded on their way. But, while they were at Refugio, Sergeant Carlos Antonio Carrillo, with thirty men, had arrived on the scene, and, from ambush, had lassoed three of Bouchard's men. This was the burden of their song at Santa Bárbara, where the *fragatas* cast anchor on December 6, and a letter was sent ashore by Bouchard under a flag of truce, asking for an exchange of prisoners and promising to cease hostilities and leave the coast if his request were complied with.

The *comandante* replied that the prisoners were still alive but that their fate would depend upon Bouchard's own behavior; that it would take at least six days to receive an answer from Governor Solá, to whom his proposition

had been despatched. Realizing how few men he had, Don José is credited with having employed a ruse as old as time, marching his meager forces round and round a small hill, so as to impress the "pirates" with their limitlessness!

Copies of De la Guerra's letters are extant. One that went to Bouchard on the same day was evidently an answer to something in one from him. Don José writes: "'If your men are very anxious to fight, I can assure you that mine are desperate to meet them'" (Bancroft).

The *comandante*, knowing nothing of how many prisoners Bouchard had taken and having no means of ascertaining, agreed to an exchange of prisoners on the following day. On the next day, when about to deliver up the three lassoed at Refugio, De la Guerra was surprised and somewhat shocked to discover that Bouchard proposed to return only one. New negotiations had to be entered upon, and the question was raised by Don José as to Bouchard's use of the plural: "prisoners." This finally forced a confession from Bouchard that he had, in fact, but one; and he offered to allow a search of his ships to be made. Thinking it better to give up three of the *insurgentes* than to have one of his own men taken away by them, De la Guerra agreed to the exchange. And, to make a long story shorter, when the prisoners were brought forth, the one used by Bouchard to secure his own captured men was the poor, worthless Molina!

There was great indignation, and Molina, the unfortunate creature, had to pay heavily for his reappearance. He was given one hundred lashes on his bare back (by order of the governor), and six years in the chain gang! But Molina was not the only one upon whom the wrath of Solá was visited, for Don José de la Guerra was reprimanded very severely for not doing "this, that, and the other," which Solá, with his superior forces and everything at his command, had been very far from able to do himself!

The two *fragatas* passed San Buenaventura without stopping but dropped anchor off San Juan Capistrano, where Alférez Santiago Argüello, with thirty men, was awaiting them, having taken up a position overlooking the mission whose occupants had been sent to El Trabuco. Bouchard demanded "an immediate supply of provisions," with the promise that, if they were forthcoming, he "would spare their town." The message that came back, according to Corney, was that they might land if they pleased and would be given "an immediate supply of powder and shot. The Commodore [Bouchard] was very much incensed at this answer" and, the following morning, before daylight, ordered Corney ashore to "bring him a sample of the powder and shot."

One hundred and forty men, well armed, and equipped, besides, with two fieldpieces, landed. Meeting with but little resistance and finding "the town well stocked with everything but money," they pillaged, set fire to buildings, and "destroyed much wine and spirits." Many men became intoxicated and, in consequence, the return to the ship was not made in good order. The next morning, Bouchard, who was a strict disciplinarian, "punished about twenty men for getting drunk."

Argüello seems to have maintained a strictly "defensive offensive" until the arrival of reënforcements from Los Angeles and Santa Bárbara, and of Don José de la Guerra, who challenged the *insurgentes*, who had returned to their ships, to come back and fight. The invitation was declined.

At San Diego, Comandante Ruiz was especially well prepared to receive the pirate crew, even with red-hot balls, thought of and desired at Monterey but with no one at hand who understood their manipulation. The two vessels sailed southward, however, without paying him a visit.

They arrived off Valparaiso on July 9, 1819, and there Peter Corney left the expedition, having joined it at the Hawaiian Islands prior to the Alta California episode; and

Bouchard and his ships disappear again into the obscurity enshrouding them before Peter Corney and his journal illumined the narrative.

As things unraveled themselves, deductions from the testimony of the prisoners taken at the time of the visit of the *insurgentes*, from Corney's journal and from such other information as is at hand, primarily, the motive behind Bouchard's attack was patriotic: a proselyting expedition for the "patriot cause," to gain Alta California for the revolutionists. Failing this, finding the governor and the province loyal, he struck a blow at Spain through her colony.

In Alta California, the year 1818 was afterward *el año de los insurgentes*, for reasons which need no explanation.

XLI

News received by the viceroy in December, 1818, of the attack by Bouchard, produced results in the form of orders before the arrival of Governor Solá's report.

It was to be expected that but scant attention would be bestowed upon an outlying dependency, swathed in peace even though with but little else, by the viceroyalty, torn by revolution and engrossed by internal affairs. Conditions in the province, other than destitution, were not, however, due entirely to that, for—comparable to the stoicism with which the misery of others is endured—the defenselessness of Alta California had usually been viewed with indifference by the officials at the capital. Now the thought that a limb had been severed from the body politic—that a small part of the province had been seized—roused Viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca to an unprecedented appreciation of the fact that, at once, assistance must be forthcoming. Something must be done if the entire loyal province was not to be appropriated, willy-nilly, by any foe who might chance to covet it.

Governor Solá was notified that two ships with troops and munitions for the relief of Alta California were to be despatched. And, after the receipt of his report, no change was made in orders except that everything was to be expedited.

Two companies were to be sent, each numbering one hundred men: San Blas infantry under Captain José Antonio Navarrete, Lieutenant Antonio del Valle, and Alférez Francisco de Haro; and Mazatlán cavalry under Captain Pablo de Portilla, Lieutenants Juan María Ibarra and Narciso Fabregat, and Alférez Ignacio Delgado.

The San Blas contingent was the first to be despatched, Captain Navarrete, with a part of his men, sailing on the *Reina de los Angeles*—Captain José Bandini—a vessel chartered for the purpose at a cost of ten thousand *pesos* and four thousand *pesos* additional a month after April 18, for time lost at San Blas or in California. Lieutenant del Valle, Alférez de Haro, and the rest of the men sailed on the *San Carlos*, commanded by Lieutenant Gonzálo Gómez de Ulloa. Both vessels got under way on June 8, from San Blas.

The *Escadron de Mazatlán* sailed from that port on July 14, on the *Cossack*. The vessel had been chartered for San Diego direct but was swept by winds up the gulf, and many of the men being seriously ill, some at the point of death, all were disembarked at San Luis Gonzaga Bay; and by easy marches, San Diego was reached on September 16. They were fairly well armed and brought ten thousand *pesos* with which to defray expenses.

The new arrivals were distributed so that each *presidio* would be strengthened by about fifty men.

The two companies that had arrived were of different caste and caliber: the Mazatlán cavalry, the "*Matzatecos*," were of good class and discipline, while the *Veteranos de San Blas*—the San Blas Veterans—were what were known in Alta California as "*cholos*," an opprobrious term in the province, but, literally, the offspring of a Spanish father and an Indian mother. They were vagabonds, criminals picked up by press gangs, vicious and quarrelsome, drunkards, gamblers, thieves, and even murderers; and, from the moment of arrival, trouble began. They were not only a bad lot but undisciplined, and many of them had never had a musket in their hands. They gave further offense by being small in stature and wearing their hair short.

Based upon letters from the viceroy, Governor Solá had expected a detachment of artillery, carbines, swords, and

cannon, as well as money with which to put forts and batteries into serviceable condition. None of these had come. He was disappointed because of this, but he was indignant over the class of men sent in the San Blas company to aid in protecting the province, and so expressed himself to Viceroy Apodaca—with some reference to the uselessness of sending "jailbirds as soldiers." He went so far it seems (these communications are not extant), as to accuse the viceroy of having broken his promises, and his old commander, General José de la Cruz, of having disobeyed the viceroy's orders! He also said quite what he thought about some saber blades, fitted on the voyage north with badly made wooden handles, which was: that they were "‘not fit for sickles’" (Bancroft).

The viceroy, who had been pluming himself because of his unusual exertions toward the relief of California, was now indignant, himself, over Solá's criticisms. He considered Solá ungrateful, impudent, besides, and in need of a reprimand, and replied "in substance: 'You have no consideration of the difficulties encountered, or of the sacrifices made in sending to your province such an army as it never saw before, and you dare to say you are in a worse condition than ever. The swords are not "fit for sickles;" in fact were not intended to be, but for weapons; and if the handles are not suitable then put on better ones, and supply the lack of scabbards from the hides so abundant in your country. No carbines were sent because none could be found; let the troops use muskets to which they are better accustomed. The artillery is on the way . . . and will arrive in due time. Two vessels have been laden with supplies, and will take away the products of the country, thus aiding the pueblo you say you have to feed. And those settlers, let them go to work, as God and the king require; let them develop the rich resources of their province and talk less, and thus will they live comfortably, and also be an aid rather than a burden to the government in such

trying times as these. I shall continue to do all in my power for your province, and I shall despatch the *San Carlos* next March with eight missionaries, besides money and goods. Meanwhile if the two hundred men I have sent are of no use to you, send them back' " (Bancroft).

The correspondence was peppery. Every one's nerves were on edge, and Solá's worn to the raw; but if Solá's were out of order, so it would seem were the viceroy's or else he was a somewhat irascible *caballero*.

In 1819, the Indian situation was the cause of grave concern. The *Tulareños* had become not only expert horsemen but adepts as horse thieves and held regular fairs for their sale. Runaway neophytes took refuge with them among the *tules* and lagoons and, as they learned the ways of the white man, they became more and more a menace. But this was overshadowed by rumors that a combined attack by all of the Indians, as far as the Río Colorado, was imminent. This situation had been precipitated by an unfortunate occurrence at Mission San Buenaventura in May of that year, brought about by the injudicious behavior of some of the mission guards toward visiting Amajava (Mojave) Indians, who had come to trade with the neophytes and were conducting themselves very quietly.

It is impossible to say what really happened, but, from even the conflicting statements, it seems clear that they were not well treated, the sentinel striking one of them; whereupon the Indians killed the corporal and another Spaniard. In the fight which ensued, two of the Amajavas and one neophyte were killed.

Long before the founding of the Asistencia de San Rafael, it had become apparent that something in the way of concerted action against the Indians must be undertaken. Now the time was more than ripe. A plan which had been discussed was to be put into execution and a beginning

was to be made in an attempt to force all the Indians in the vicinity of the coast farther inland.

The Indians needed and were to receive a thorough disciplining, which would simplify matters when the time for going among them in the regular way, with *presidios* and missions, should arrive.

In the autumn, three expeditions were sent out. The first, twenty-five men under Sergeant Sánchez, marched in October, from San Francisco by way of San José into the San Joaquín Valley. An expedition by water, up the river was to have coöperated with this, but did not. In an engagement with the Muquelemes, in which one neophyte was killed and five soldiers wounded, sixteen Indians were captured and twenty-seven killed. Forty-nine horses were recovered. This campaign was considered a brilliant success and Sánchez was recommended for promotion.

The second expedition, marching from Monterey, was commanded by Lieutenant José María Estudillo. He was accompanied by Sergeant José Dolores Pico, who knew the country, and about forty men. This campaign was a failure.

The third, under command of Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga, was the most ambitious. This expedition marched on November 22 from Mission San Gabriel, under the double patronage of the *Arcángel Gabriel* and *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*. Some artillery was taken. With Moraga were thirty-five cavalrymen; and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Narciso Fabregat with fifteen of the newly arrived Mazatlán infantry.

Moraga was to proceed to the *ranchería* of the Amavas; to march to the Colorado; and if, upon investigation, there was any truth in the constantly arriving reports of a contemplated attack by the Indians, he was to give them a lesson they would never forget.

The interior—a difficult country to traverse—was penetrated for seventy or eighty leagues, when, for lack of water

and feed, horses and mules began to give out. A return became necessary; and San Gabriel was reached on December 14.

The expedition was not a success; and Moraga reported in favor of another at a different time of the year.

1819 was the lean year in the province. The transports did not come; but no hopes had been built on their coming. The Lima ships brought no goods up the coast, to trade for tallow. Neither did the Russians come, seeking to exchange merchandise for foodstuffs. In fact, no trading vessels appeared in the year 1819. Very little except munitions had arrived in the three troopships. One of the captains had disposed of some three thousand *pesos* worth of goods, which was less than a drop in the bucket in the way of relieving the need. The *padres* had redoubled their efforts after the Bouchard invasion, furnishing for Monterey materials of many kinds, as well as neophytes to assist in the rebuilding and even three thousand five hundred *pesos* in actual money. But, now, still more was expected of them; their power to help must be still farther stretched. Another attack was looked for, and such preparations as were possible must be made.

The missions were called upon to manufacture cartridge boxes and *machetes*, and to furnish many other things. Orders were issued that forty skilled archers must be on call, and that a station was to be maintained between each two missions, at which one hundred and fifty horses were to be kept; but this last order evolved into one permitting the horses to be in readiness at the missions.

It was not even imagined that transports with supplies would be sent.

In the straits to which the Alta Californians were reduced in 1819, a plan was worked out by the governor and the *comandantes*, by which it was hoped real lasting benefit

might result—the province be put upon a practical and substantial footing—and immediate relief secured.

A special messenger was to be sent direct to the capital and for this delicate, diplomatic mission, Captain Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, respected by all classes, was chosen to represent them and to lay their needs and hopes for assistance before the viceroy.

De la Guerra sailed on the *Reina de los Angeles*, armed with instructions and powers of attorney. Arriving at San Blas, he wrote to the viceroy on November 26, evidently stating the nature of his mission. Under date of January 12, 1820, the viceroy replied that he had informed Governor Solá of his efforts—so far as the condition of the treasury would permit—in behalf of California; that he was arranging to send thirty thousand *pesos* to the *habilitado general* at Guadalajara; “and that if he, Guerra, had no other business in Mexico he might return to his post on the *San Carlos*, since his longer stay was unnecessary” (Bancroft).

De la Guerra did not return. He went to the capital and accomplished as much as was humanly possible; but not as much as he had been instructed to attempt to bring about. His return passport is dated April 15, but he is supposed to have returned on the *San Carlos* in June, with goods invoiced at more than forty-one thousand *pesos*.

That year, 1820, things looked up a bit. Trade was brisk. There was more demand for tallow than could be supplied. Khlîebnikov brought south a cargo, on the *Boldákov*, and provisions were sold to Russian vessels and to an English whaler.

Permanent trade negotiations were, as ever, uppermost in the Russian mind. There being a new general manager, Lieutenant Khlîebnikov was sent down to urge upon Solá the fulfillment of his promises to Hagemeister. Solá said that he had made no promises to Hagemeister. But no

objection was made to the cargo brought by the *Boldákov* being exchanged for grain.

The point had been reached where trade with the Russians was a foregone conclusion; but this was not without much mental anguish to Governor Solá, whose aristocratic conscience fairly writhed whenever conditions had to be alleviated in what, to him, was a questionable way. Yet circumstances were so in league against him that he always yielded.

Meanwhile, an uprising of the military in the mother country, in March, 1820, had forced a revival of the liberal constitution of 1812, which had been repudiated by Fernando VII after his restoration. This constitution was proclaimed in May of the same year by Viceroy Apodaca. The announcement was received in the torn and patched viceroyalty with varying emotions, mental readjustments, shiftings of viewpoints, and rapid and radical changes in party aims.

Propitious—amid this instability—was the time, and Agustín de Iturbide, a *mestizo*, classed with the creoles, a retired colonel in the Spanish army—somewhat under a cloud because of irregularities in conduct, needing money and ambitious, withal—who had been very efficient against the revolutionary forces, was induced to lead a new party and, himself, to take the field in a revolution reactionary in character.

Military forces were needed and, hoodwinking the viceroy—by way of a beginning—Iturbide (according to Priestley, a “constructive traitor”) was put in command of some twenty-five hundred troops and sent to oppose Vicente Guerrero—the last of the revolutionary leaders of importance; but, after a few preliminary skirmishes, conflicts became conferences and, at Iguala, the two combined forces.

On February 24, 1821, Iturbide published his *manifesto*,

the *Plan de Iguala*, in which it was proposed to establish an independent limited monarchy in New Spain, under a Bourbon prince, upholding the Catholic religion and the privileges of the clergy, and giving equal rights to all.

The Plan was brought to the attention of Viceroy Apodaca, and the presidency of the proposed *junta* was offered to him; but he refused to countenance the movement and declared Iturbide an outlaw. Nevertheless, while temporizing with the leaders, the movement had gained great headway and, in July, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca—called “The Unfortunate”—was forced to resign.

Receiving the appointment of Captain General and Acting Viceroy of New Spain, Don Juan O'Donojú, a lieutenant general in the army of Spain, arrived at Vera Cruz on July 30 of the same year, 1821.

The revolution had attained such formidable proportions that all he could do was to parley with the leaders. Unable to proceed to the capital, he, perforce, began his rule as viceroy at Vera Cruz, where he remained until he was given permission by Iturbide, with whom he was in communication, to advance as far as the less pestilential town of Córdoba. There, on August 24, he signed a treaty by which he agreed to surrender Mexico.

(It was generally believed that O'Donojú had been selected by certain members of the Spanish *cortes*, sent and expected to do just this.)

The Treaty of Córdoba incorporated the Plan of Iguala, but provided that “in case of default of Spanish aspirants to the Mexican throne, the crown should be given to ‘such person as the Imperial Cortes may designate.’ The way was thus left open for choice of someone outside the royal Spanish house” (Priestley).

In September, a *junta* was called and a declaration of independence issued. There were various understandings of the situation. All were not of one mind, by

any means, but to the people, Iturbide was "*El Libertador*." A regency of five persons, of which he was the president, was formed, to hold office until Fernando himself, one of his brothers, or another Bourbon prince should be available for the imperial throne awaiting him.

O'Donojú was one of the five regents. He died very shortly after this time, on October 8. He was the sixty-second and last viceroy of New Spain.

Nothing of this seems to have been known in the Californias, for on October 8—the day of O'Donojú's death—Governor Solá took the oath to observe the constitution of 1812 (*redivivus*), in the presidial chapel at Santa Bárbara, before Padre Suñer, Captain José de la Guerra, and the assembled people.

Padre Presidente Payéras took the oath on the 22d. Friars and officials were notified to comply with the *bando*; and answered "*Sí, juro*," as a matter of course—because it was the king's order.

On January 10, 1822, Governor Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, of Alta California, wrote Governor Don José Darío Argüello, of Baja California, out of the fullness of his loyalist heart, that he had received from Mexico "such documents as are printed in a country of dreamers, since independence is a dream. Day by day their presses will turn out absurdities by the thousand; but you and I, aware that the immortal, incomparable Spanish nation has many and great resources with which to make herself respected, must look with contempt on such absurd views'" (Bancroft). Among these "documents" must have been the original *manifiesto*: the Plan of Iguala, of February of the preceding year.

Notwithstanding Solá's dictum, despatches were then on their way, announcing the success of those "'dreamers'": the *junta* of September of the same year, and the organiz-

ing of the regency. Another sheaf of despatches arrived in March of that year, announcing the future holding of the Mexican *córtes*—congress.

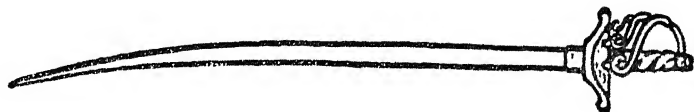
On March 16, Governor Solá communicated the news to the *comandantes*, calling a *junta* at Monterey, which convened on April 9. Ten persons were present: the governor; the *comisario prefecto*, Payéras; Padre Sarria, representing the *padre presidente*, Señan; Comandantes José de la Guerra and Luis Argüello, of San Bárbara and San Francisco, respectively; Lieutenant José María Estudillo, representing Comandante Francisco María Ruiz, of San Diego, and acting as secretary of the *junta*; Captains Portilla and Navarrete, of the Mazatlán and San Blas companies, stationed in Alta California; Lieutenant Gómez, of the artillery; and Lieutenant Estrada, of Monterey.

There is no record of any discussion at this *junta* of these—most of them, at least—rabid loyalists. To them, the regency was, after all, but temporary; the imperial throne would soon be occupied by one of their own princes!

A resolution was passed “to acquiesce in the regency, to obey the new government, to recognize the dependence of California on the Mexican empire only, and to take the prescribed oath” (Bancroft). And, on April 11, the oath was taken by the members of the *junta* at the house of the governor and, later, by the troops drawn up in the *plaza*. Religious services followed.

It was all official and very solemn. Alta California as a dependency of Spain had ceased to be.

To celebrate the new independence—of Mexico—the day ended with music, illuminations, *vivas*, and the firing of cannon.



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Los Angeles, California.

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